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A  
NEW AND COMPLEAT  
COLLECTION  
OF THE MOST REMARKABLE  
Trials for Adultery, &c.  
IN TWO VOLUMES.

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# NEW AND COMPLETE COLLECTION

OF THE MOST REMARKABLE

## Trials for Adultery, &c.

FROM THE

TIME of HENRY VIII. to the PRESENT PERIOD.

GIVEN IN

The WAY of a NARRATIVE; not in the TEDIOUS  
FORM of DEPOSITIONS.

CONTAINING,

A great Variety of IMPORTANT and INTERESTING  
TRIALS, among which are the following:

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Mrs. DALY.  
Lady BOLINGBROKE.  
Lady SARAH BUNBURY.  
Colonel CHARTERIS.  
Lord BALTIMORE.

Mrs. LOCKWOOD.  
Duchess of GRAYTON.  
Duke of CUMBERLAND.  
Lady GROSVENOR.  
RECRIMINATION.  
Lady LIGONIER.  
NAIRN and OGILVIE.  
Mrs. WORGAN.  
Mrs. COLLET.  
Mrs. HEATLEY.  
Mrs. DRAPER.  
Mr. OLIVER.  
Duchess of KINGSTON.  
Mrs. HARRIS.  
Lady TYRCONNEL.  
Lady BLAKE.  
Mrs. CAMPBELL.  
Lady PERCY.  
Marchioness of CARMARTHEN.

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VOLUME SECOND.

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GARDEN. 1780.







T H E  
C O N T E N T S  
O F T H E  
S E C O N D V O L U M E.

**T** R I A L of the Most Noble ANN DUCHESS of GRAFTON, wife of the Most Noble AUGUSTUS HENRY Duke of GRAFTON, for criminal conversation with the Right Honourable the EARL of UPPER OSSORY, and having a female bastard child by the said Earl. The marriage: children by the parties: articles of separation signed: Duchess allowed 3000 l. a year. Reasons for the separation. First connection with the Earl at Brighthelmstone: then at her house in Seymour Place: then at her country house at Combe: Sir John Pringle's deposition: her endeavours to conceal her pregnancy: his Grace's letter to her mentioning his knowledge of her being pregnant: Dr. Hunter sent for express: circumstances of her Grace's delivery: the Doctor brings the child to town in his carriage: Mr. Adair's and Dr. Hunter's evidence: Dr. Hunter's endeavours to conceal the delivery: he puts the child to nurse.  
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his



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A  
NEW AND COMPLETE  
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TRIAL OF THE

Most Noble ANN, Duchess of GRAFTON,

WIFE of the MOST NOBLE

AUGUSTUS HENRY, Duke of GRAFTON,

For ADULTERY with

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

JOHN, Earl of UPPER OSSORY.

AND HAVING A

FEMALE BASTARD CHILD by the said EARL.

*Libel given in to Doctor's Commons, November 7th, 1768.*

THE honourable Ann Lyddel, daughter of the right honourable lord Ravensworth, at the age of eighteen and upwards, was married, January 29th 1756, to Augustus Henry, then earl of Euston, aged twenty years. The parties were married at lord Ravensworth's in St. James's square, by the reverend Mr. Benjamin Newcombe, since dean of Rochester; there were present, his grace Charles, grandfather to the present duke, lord Ravensworth, general Ellison, Peter Deline, Esq; and his lady, John Deline, Esq;

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and



and others. After their marriage they resided in Cleveland row, St. James's; then in Bond street, till their separation in 1764. There were three children by this marriage; a daughter and two sons; the last son was born in July 1764, about six weeks before their graces separation. The duke mentioned in the libel given in, that he had always behaved to the duchess with true affection, and did every thing in his power to render her happy, notwithstanding which, towards the end of the year 1763, and the beginning of 1764, her grace's ill conduct, and her declarations of an utter aversion to him, made him determine no longer to live or cohabit with her as his wife. However, as her grace was then with child, and as he still preserved a great regard and affection for her, and as he earnestly wished to avoid any measure that might hurt her health, he deferred making known his determination till she was safely delivered, and was out of danger. The communication of his grace's resolution appears, however, to have been made not long after her grace's delivery, for six weeks after she was brought to bed, she set out for her father's house in the county of Durham. This was about the end of August 1764; for lord Charles, of whom she had been delivered was born July 17th, 1764. On the 11th of January 1765, articles of separation were signed, by which his grace allowed the duchess three thousand pounds per annum, to be paid quarterly. Towards the close of the libel, the duke states a very curious and interesting circumstance; after saying that from the time of her going to her father's in summer 1764 to the present time, he never had had carnal knowledge of her, nor any conversation or personal intercourse whatever; he adds, *although by her often requested thereto, more especially at a very critical time.* This has been supposed by some to allude to the time when she was apprehensive of a pregnancy; by others, to the time when their eldest son, the earl of Euston, was dangerously ill at her grace's house.



The evidences in this cause were,

Martha Tyson, widow, aged sixty four years, had known the duchess from her being six years old, by attending her, as her nurse, when she was inoculated for the small pox, at the house of lord Ravensworth, her grace's father ; and also was often at her grace's house after her marriage, and attending as nurse at the birth of her first child ; and also at the birth of the third child in 1764.

Joseph Southall, aged forty one years, went to live as footman with the duke and duchess of Grafton in September 1762, and in December 1764, went to live as footman with the duchess, and continued with her to the 9th of November 1768.

Charlotte Duparg, aged twenty five years, wife of Alexander Duparg, chambermaid, or lady's maid to the duchess of Grafton, went to live with her grace in April 1766, having been engaged at Paris, by the countess of Hertford, in consequence of a letter from her grace to the countess ; and living with her at the time of this trial.

Sophia Alibert, aged forty two years, wife of Alexander Alibert, teacher of the French language, in January 1765, went to live as governess to lady Georgiana, her grace's daughter ; and continued till July 18th, 1768.

Alexander Alibert, aged forty seven, husband of the last witness.

William Kenning, aged twenty seven years, postilion, to South Eastcott, widow.

Thomas Seawell, aged forty years, cook to the duke of Grafton, went to live at his grace's in May 1758, and lived with him at the time of this trial.

William Ranspach, aged twenty six years, valet de chambre to his grace, went to live with him in September 1763, and lived with him at the time of this trial.

Hannah Reed, spinster, aged twenty eight years, went to live with her grace as chambermaid, in January



bruary 1765, and lived with her at the time of this trial.

William Trays, aged thirty six years, butler to her grace, in August 1755 went to live as footman to the duke, and in August 1764 went with her grace to her father's at Efslington, in Northumberland, and in her service at the time of the trial.

Robert Falgate, aged thirty five years, in 1763 went to live with the duke of Grafton as footman to her grace, and in August 1764 attended her grace to her father's in the north, and there by her grace's desire, engaged to stay with her when she went to town, being as she told him to live separate from his grace. He left her service the 18th of August 1768.

Peter Browne, aged thirty one years, servant to Richard Stonehewer, Esq;

Richard Stonehewer, Esq; aged forty years.

Dr. William Hunter, aged forty nine years.

Judith Hearn, aged thirty years, housekeeper to the duchess of Grafton, went to live with the duchess in April 1768, and in her service at the time of this trial.

Robert Adair, Esq; aged fifty years, surgeon.

Sir John Pringle, baronet, physician.

Thomas Jarvis, aged twenty seven years, footman to her grace, went to live in her house as groom, on Christmas day 1764, and was in her service at the time of this trial.

William Mosely, aged twenty one years, groom to her grace, went to live with her grace in 1766, and continued in that station at the time of the trial.

Benedict Schallar, house steward to the duke of Grafton, had lived in the family in different capacities, for sixteen years.

Mary Golder, aged thirty years, wife of Richard Golder, wet nurse.

Dorothy Mothersole, aged thirty two years, widow, cook to the duchess, went to live with her in May 1768, and lived with her at the time of the trial.

Jane



Jane Turner, spinster, aged twenty five years, went to live with the duchess, as laundry maid, the 31st of May 1768, and lived with her at the time of the trial.

Mary Charles, spinster, aged twenty two years, went in December, 1765, to live with her grace as a servant, and lived with her at the time of the trial.

About the end of the year 1763, great disagreements arose between the duke and duchess, occasioned as the duke said, by the behaviour of the duchess; his grace, by the evidence of Southall, seemed to be particularly offended at her grace's card parties, for on coming home at eleven or twelve o'clock at night, and seeing numbers of servants in the hall, he made enquiry of the porter, and understanding from him, that her grace had much company with her, and that they were card parties, his grace used sometimes to turn back, and go out of the house; and at other times call his valet de chambre, order candles, and go into his library, and not appear again that night. Her grace very often used to have company and card parties, and the duke was seldom of the party, which made the servants apprehend there were some disagreements between them, and that the duke did not approve of so much cards and company. Ranspach, the valet, also deposed to the disagreements, and to the apparent affection of the duke to the duchess. When in the room with them, the duke has spoke to the duchess in French, seemingly out of humour, and they appeared to have words together; her grace answered sometimes in French, sometimes in English, and it seemed to give the duke uneasiness when she replied in English, as their disagreements thereby became known. Her grace on these occasions would say *she was the most unhappy woman in the world.* To which the duke would reply, *that it was her own fault, for he did all in his power to make her happy, and she had every thing to make her so.* His grace, on coming home about twelve o'clock at night, after



enquiring what company was in the house, and finding her grace had card parties, appeared dissatisfied and uneasy, and went to bed.

From the evidence of Tyson, the nurse, the duke of Grafton did not often visit her grace, when she lay in of lord Charles in 1764; and she believed he did not even lie in the house at that time, nor was he present at the christening, all which made her and other persons in the house suspect, that there was some disagreement between the duke and duchess. This evidence also often saw the duchess in tears, and it was the public talk that they were going to part, and from what she saw she imagined they were about to separate.

Schallar, who was groom of the bedchamber in 1764, deposed, that he used to attend the company at the card parties with tea and coffee, and other refreshments in the course of the evening. The duke frequently came home about eleven or twelve o'clock, when the duchess had her card parties, and after enquiring who were in the house, for the most part went to bed; and once, the evidence recollected he went out again, when he found card parties in the house; and on such occasions the duke seemed displeased. A short time after the birth of lord Charles Fitzroy, in 1764, the duchess went to her father's in the north, and most of her grace's things were sent to her father's house in town, in St. James's square; from all which circumstances, the evidence believed the duke and duchess were then to live separately.

After their separation, the duke seems most cautiously to have avoided seeing, or having any intercourse with her grace; Schallar mentioned one instance, the duke being in Hyde Park, on seeing the duchess riding there, he turned back, and went quite a different road to avoid her. For these reasons, he believed, that his grace from the time the duchess went to her father's in the north, had never had carnal use of the body of her grace, or any conversation, or personal intercourse with her whatever.



The duchess came from the north to her father's town house in St. James's square, as Ranspach deposes, in December 1764. The evidence had attended her down into the country in August, remained in attendance while there, and returned to town with her. On his arrival, he went to the duke's in Bondstreet, and from thence in a day or two was to go to the duke, then at Wakefield lodge, in Northamptonshire. But by the directions of the duchess, he went to lord Ravensworth's in St. James's square; before he set out, and her grace desired him to inform the duke that the children were well, and then she wished the evidence well or happy; from which he suspected that their graces were no longer to live together. He had never since that time seen or heard that the duke and duchess had been in company together, and on that account believed, his grace from the time the duchess went into the north, never had the carnal use of the body of the duchess, his wife, or any conversation, or personal interview with her whatever.

Seawell deposed, that soon after her grace had been brought to bed 1764, that he and other servants were sent down to Wakefield lodge, and that the duke followed them, and came there without the duchess, who had gone into the north to lord Ravensworth's her father. His grace remained nearly eleven months at Wakefield and Euston, except going for a day or two to town. He never had since August 1764, seen or heard of the duke being in company with the duchess, and therefore he believed, the duke never had since that time carnal use of the body of the said Ann, duchess of Grafton. All the other witnesses deposed to the same purpose, that is, to their disbelief of any cohabitation or intercourse between the duke and duchess from August 1764 to the time of trial.

Southall in December 1764 left the duke's service, and went to lord Ravensworth's in St. James's square to live with the duchess, presently after he got there, the duchess arrived from the north, and the evidence let



let her out of the chaise. The duchess remained at her father's till after Christmas, and then removed to a house she had taken in Grosvenor street, where she continued about two years, and from thence removed to Seymour place, where she lived at the time of this trial. Her grace had also a country house at Combe in Surry, and went occasionally into the country to her house, and also on visiting parties.

During the years 1765 and 1766, her grace was twice at Tunbridge wells, and also at her father's in the country; but the earl of Ossory does not appear from the evidences, to have been intimate with her grace till 1767.

Southall's deposition. In summer 1767 her grace went to Brighthelmstone in Sussex, not long after her grace's arrival, the earl of Upper Ossory also came there, and took lodgings opposite to those of her grace, and on the day of his arrival waited upon her grace. After that his lordship was always at her house as one of the family; letters and messages generally passed every day between his lordship and the duchess; seldom two days intervened without a visit to her grace; by the duchess's orders his lordship was always to be admitted, and during his visits none else, except when her grace had card or musical parties, and even then his lordship staid after the other company were gone, till one or two in the morning. It was usual not to carry in candles till they were rung for; so that her grace and his lordship often were alone in the dark together, for an hour or two; and once when the bell was rung, the evidence trying to open the door, found it fastened.

About September her grace left Brighthelmstone, and went to the duke of Richmond's, at Goodwood park, in Sussex, where she remained two or three days, and then returned to her house in Seymour place, London, and after two or three days stay there, went to her father's seat in the north. This evidence was left at her grace's house in Seymour place, and there he often received letters from her grace, inclos-  
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ing others for lord Ossory; her grace's orders were to carry the letters, addressed to his lordship, to his house, and if his lordship was not at home, he had orders to direct them to be forwarded to his lordship, wherever he was. His lordship's porter also frequently gave him letters, addressed to the duchess in his lordship's hand writing, which letters he forwarded to her grace, in franks she had left with him for that purpose.

On the 3d of December, her grace arrived in town from her father's, about six o'clock in the evening, and in half an hour after her arrival his lordship waited on her, and staid many hours with her grace. That evening her grace and his lordship sat in the fore room up one pair of stairs, which opened into the back room or drawing room, in which there was a large couch or settee. Her grace remained in this house in Scymour place till the beginning of June 1768, when she removed to a ready furnished house at Combe, near Kingstone, in Surry, but she still kept the house in Scymour place. From her grace's arrival in London till her going to Combe, lord Ossory generally visited her grace every day; and also two or three messages passed between them daily; for messages were sometimes sent to lord Ossory early in the morning, though he had been in company with her grace till one or two o'clock that morning. His lordship used to pay her grace a morning visit about one o'clock in the day, and stay till after four in the afternoon; sometimes he came about eleven in the forenoon, and staid an hour or two; and sometimes came at seven or eight in the evening, and staid till twelve o'clock at night and later. The duchess had frequently card parties, and on such occasions his lordship staid an hour or more after all the rest of the company had departed. Orders were usually given, when his lordship was with her grace in a morning, to deny her to other visitors; and the evidence always understood that no person was to be admitted when his lordship was with her grace in the evening;  
some-



sometimes, on a double knock at the door, lord Ossory came out to the staircase and called out that nobody was to be let in. They commonly sat in the drawing room, or back room, up one pair of stairs, in which there was a couch; there was also a couch in a small room or closet, adjoining the back room; the evidence had seen her grace and his lordship at different times sitting close together on both these couches; as in the spring her grace sometimes sat in the small room. He had heard that lord Huston, her grace's eldest son, endeavouring to go into the room found the door fastened; but it was the constant rule for the servants not to go up stairs, except when her grace rang the bell, and they have been so long without ringing, that the fire has gone out, and had to be lighted again. The butler whose business it was to carry in candles, when lord Ossory was with her grace often wondered candles were not rung for. It was the rule of the house not to carry in candles, coals, or any thing else into the room till her grace gave orders or rung the bell. Trays the butler confirmed the circumstance of not ordering candles as soon as it was dark.

Falgate deposed, that in attending the duchess in her chair in town, they met his grace the duke two or three times, and that he never stopped or took the least notice of the duchess, but as soon as he saw them he immediately turned his head another way, to avoid seeing her grace. This evidence also deposed to her grace being at Brighthelmston in 1767 to bathe in the sea, that lord Ossory likewise came there, took lodgings opposite her grace's, visited her daily, and sometimes ran in, and was not known to be with her grace by the servants. At these visits his lordship was mostly alone with her, often staid late in the evening, and it was commonly late before her grace ordered candles. Going one day into the parlour where her grace and lord Ossory were alone, in order to deliver a message, he found the door fastened; and on her grace coming to the door, she said something was the  
mat-



matter with the bolt, that the door stuck, and desired him to push it, and the door being opened he delivered the message. The same day her grace when alone rang the bell, and he went to the door and found it fastened, her grace came and opened it, saying something was the matter with the door and it must be altered; but at other times he never found any thing the matter with the door, and it never was altered.

On her grace's arrival at her house in town the beginning of December 1767, lord Ossory visited her there the first evening, the other servants having informed the evidence, on his asking, if her grace had any company, that lord Ossory only was with her. His lordship seldom missed a day coming to see her grace, and often staid alone with her till twelve o'clock at night or later, and when there were card parties remained after the company were gone. When my lord Ossory and she were alone, orders were given that the duchess was not at home; but it was her particular order not to be denied to lord or lady Ravensworth, or general Ellison.

About a twelvemonth before the trial, the evidence saw lord Euston pushing and thumping at the door in the back stair case which opened into the small room, and so into the drawing room, and he called out at same time, "*Mamma let me in.*" On which Mrs. Duparg answered, "*my lord Euston your mamma is not within.*" But his lordship insisted she was within. After this the evidence retired: her grace was then at home, and lord Ossory with her.

This evidence left her grace's service on the 18th of August 1768, and since had heard of her being delivered of a daughter, which he believed to be true, because he thought her grace was with child before he left her service, and from her living separate from her husband the duke, and from lord Ossory being so often with her, he believed that if her grace had such a child, that it had been begotten on her body by lord Ossory.

On



On the 4th of July 1768, in the afternoon, at Combe, lady Jane Scott and Miss Pelham called on her grace; on which the duchefs came out of the room ſhe was in, and gave him exprefs orders not to admit any perſon whatever.

About a month after her grace went to Combe, it was the common talk among the ſervants, that ſhe was big with child; the evidence obſerved her grace, and was of the ſame opinion. He remembered her grace ſaid one day at dinner, that ſhe grew fat, for all her cloaths were too little for her; but he thought there was little alteration except the appearance of her being with child, from the ſize of her waift.

Sir John Pringle baronet, depoſed, that from the end of December 1767, to the beginning of February 1768, he attended lord Euſton, ſon of the duke and duchefs of Grafton, in an illneſs, at her grace's houſe in Seymour place, and as his lordſhip's illneſs was alarming, when he hath been viſiting his lordſhip, her grace hath expreſſed her wiſhes, that the duke would come and ſee his ſon. The evidence heard her ſay, ſhe either had, or would ſend a meſſage to the duke for that purpoſe; and thinks ſhe ſaid ſhe had ſent ſuch a meſſage, and ſhe would be out of the way at the time his grace would appoint to come, and ſee his ſon. The evidence alſo underſtood from her grace's converſation, that the duke had never been at her houſe, and that the reaſon of his not coming was upon her account. During the evidence's attendance upon lord Euſton, he often waited on the duke, repreſented the ſituation his ſon was in, and informed him that the duchefs had expreſſed her wiſhes, that he would come and ſee his lordſhip; but the evidence did not recollect to have had any direct meſſage or orders from the duchefs to propoſe any thing to the duke. The evidence could not recollect the particular expreſſions of the duke's reply, but had a lively remembrance that the duke ſhewed a fixed and determined reſolution not to go and ſee his ſon at the houſe of the duchefs; although his grace on ſuch an occaſion



tion shewed all the tenderness of a parent, and expressed the unhappiness of his situation. That when lord Euston was removed from her grace's house to Mary-le-Bone, the evidence believed his grace soon after visited him; and the evidence never having seen or heard of their graces being in company together since their separation, believed his grace never had since that time had the carnal use of the body of the duchess, or any conversation or personal intercourse with her whatever.

Southall when the duchess went to Combe imagined her to be with child, and had heard that her grace was brought to bed of a daughter the 23d of August 1768; but he was not in the house at the time, having been called out of bed at six o'clock in the morning, and sent off with most of the other servants, to her grace's town house in Seymour place.

The duchess went to Combe June 2d. Lord Ravensworth her father dined with her the 3d. The duchess in going to Combe had called at Sir Gilbert Heathcote's at North End Hammersmith, and made an appointment to dine there the 7th; also her grace had invited Mrs Howe an intimate acquaintance, to spend the evening with her; neither of these appointments took place, a message was sent to Mrs. Howe that her grace was obliged to go to London, and could not see her, but the servants believed the reason was Ossory's groom coming with a letter that his lordship was to come there. Accordingly a quarter after six in the evening of that day his lordship came to Combe, and staid till half past twelve the next morning.

Adjoining the room the duchess and his lordship usually sat in at Combe, was another room unfurnished, except some bird's cages, a chair or two, a wash hand stand, and a couch, he had seen lord Ossory sitting on the couch, and the duchess on a chair by it, and when they were gone out he had examined the couch, and found it tight and hard and not easily tumbled. Lord Ossory generally came to Combe every other day, often dined there, and remained till one or two



o'clock in the morning. Her grace and his lordship were always alone together in the room which had a communication with the couch room. They dined and supped together, and lady Georgiana, her Grace's daughter with them. The servants did not attend at table, for they helped themselves from a dumb waiter.

Soon after her grace went to Combe, she gave orders to be denied to every person in general except lord Offory, and Mr. Cranfield, an acquaintance of his lordship's; her grace's particular acquaintance were likewise excepted, but with orders that when any of them came, that their names were to be carried in, for the purpose of knowing if her grace would see them. But her grace seldom saw any person except lord Offory and Mr. Cransfield. The rest of the servants and the evidence were of opinion, that some improper connection subsisted between her grace and his lordship, as her grace was married, his lordship's visits very frequent, and his stay late.

About the end of June 1768, he saw her grace grow bigger and bigger in the waist, and heard the maid servants say her grace grew so fat, that her cloaths were too little for her.

On the first of July a servant of Mr. Stonehewer's came to Combe with a letter for her grace, which the evidence delivered to her, and on reading it her grace told him, it required no answer, which he told to Mr. Stonehewer's servant.

This is a very interesting part of the trial.

Peter Browne, servant to Richard Stonehewer, Esq; of Queensfreet, May Fair, deposed, that on the 1st of July, he received a letter from his master, with orders to carry it to the duchefs of Grafton at Combe, to whom the letter was addressed, and to bring back an answer; that he went to Combe, delivered the letter to one of her grace's servants, and saw him carry it to her grace, then on a grass plat at the back of the house, the servant soon came back, and informed the evidence there was no answer; but the evidence told him that he had been expressly desired to bring back



an answer, and therefore said to him, "*can't you go back again to her grace.*" The servant said he would not go back, for her grace said there was no answer, and seemed displeased.

*That no answer was given to this letter will not be wondered at. The letter is given in the following deposition.*

Richard Stonehewer, Esq; deposed, that on the 30th of June 1768, he received a message from the duke of Grafton, in the very words following :

*" Grosvenor Square, June 30.*

*" The duke of Grafton desires Mr. Stonehewer would be so good to deliver this message from him to the duchess of Grafton, that the duke of Grafton has, to his firmest belief, evidence already sufficient of the duchess of Grafton's pregnancy, and conduct, to entitle him to a bill of divorce, he therefore gives her this open notice of it, in order that, on the one hand, she may have an opportunity to take what measures she may think expedient to demonstrate, (if she is able) the injustice of this accusation to the world, and on the other, that she may not be risking her life or health by trying methods of concealing her delivery, the detection of which cannot escape the duke of Grafton's vigilance.*

In consequence of this message from his grace, the evidence, after taking a copy of it, inclosed the original in a letter to the duchess, and sent his servant Browne with it to her house at Combe, directing his servant to wait for an answer ; but when the servant returned he said, the duchess said there was no answer.

Southall deposed, that a few minutes after Mr. Stonehewer's servant was gone, the honourable Mrs. Brudenell, and Miss Legge her sister, came to visit her grace ; the evidence shewed them into the house, and then went into the garden, where her grace was reading under a tree, and her daughter lady Georgiana with her ; that her grace said she could not possibly see Mrs. Brudenell and Miss Legge, but she would send lady Georgiana with the message, immediately



diately lady Georgiana came to the ladies, and they got into their chaise and went away without seeing the duchess. The evidence believed the duchess expected lord Ossory, for he came a few minutes after the departure of the ladies, and went into the garden to her grace; after which her grace, lady Georgiana, and his lordship came into the house, and the duchess desired lady Georgiana to go up stairs; her grace and lord Ossory then remained some hours together.

On the fifth of July, Falgate told the evidence that lady Jane Scott, and Miss Pelham had been to visit her grace, but did not get admittance. Lord Ossory was there that day, and went away in his own chaise about one in the morning, his usual time of going.

On the 7th of July Miss Pelham called again, between eleven and twelve o'clock forenoon, the evidence carried her compliments to the duchess, and she was come to see her grace. The duchess directed the evidence to return her compliments, and say she was not well. Miss Pelham sent him a second time, with a request to see her grace only for a few minutes. The duchess sent him back with her compliments, that she was not well and in bed, and could not see Miss Pelham. Miss Pelham sent him a third time to know if she could not see lady Georgiana. Her grace then directed lady Georgiana to go into the great drawing room, and ordered the evidence to let Miss Pelham in. When Miss Pelham was in the drawing room, she asked for pen, ink, and paper, which being in the room where her grace then was below stairs, he tried to go in, but found the door fastened. Her grace after enquiring who was there, opened the door, and asked if Miss Pelham was come in; and being answered in the affirmative, she went up stairs to her bedchamber. Soon after Miss Pelham gave him a note for the duchess, which he carried up stairs, and after knocking at the door attempted to go in, but found it locked and fastened; and her grace after enquiring who was there, opened the door. The evidence further said, that when her grace ordered him to



to inform Miss Pelham that she was not well, and in bed, she had been up sometime and breakfasted, and seemed to be as well as usual; but he believed her reasons for not seeing Miss Pelham were, that she was then big with child, and that she expected lord Ossory, for he came a few minutes after Miss Pelham was gone. That day he saw her grace and lord Ossory together for the first time, sitting in the room before mentioned to be partly unfurnished; his lordship sat upon the large couch, sometimes with his leg up in an indulging posture, and her grace sat close by him in an arm chair. Her grace and lord Ossory were generally alone, except at meals and at tea and coffee, when lady Georgiana was with them; but her grace frequently sent lady Georgiana to walk in the garden; and her ladyship used generally to go to her chamber about nine o'clock or sooner; that evening lord Ossory continued with her grace till past twelve at night, and a post chaise was sent for from Kingston, in which his lordship set off.

One day the duke of Portland came to Combe to see her grace, but was refused admittance.

Lord Ossory set out for Ireland, but the evidence could not state the particular day of his going and returning, but he believed the letters that were brought to Combe, franked Upper Ossory, were from his lordship.

From the time his lordship went to Ireland, to the 23d of August, when he and others of the servants were sent to London to the town house, her grace seldom or ever came down stairs, but remained mostly in her bedchamber. He believed the time of her grace's delivery was intended to be kept secret, and that none of the servants knew of the time but Mrs. Duparg and Hannah, who were constantly about her grace.

On the 23d of August about six o'clock he was called up by Mrs. Hearn the housekeeper, and ordered with other servants immediately to London, as her grace intended to dine there; and about eight in the



morning, Mrs. Hearn, the cook, coachman, postilion, and himself, set off for the house in Seymour place. Also that her grace as he believed did not send notice of her being brought to bed to the duke of Grafton her husband, but endeavoured to keep it secret from his grace, her relations, and friends. The servants remained in her grace's house in Seymour place till the 24th of September, and then went to Combe. Whilst in London he heard it publicly reported, that her grace had been delivered of a girl; he heard the same when he went to Combe, and that Dr. Hunter had taken away the child. He left her grace's service the 9th of November.

Mrs. Duparg deposed to some of the above mentioned circumstances, and that on the 23d of August, between two and three in the morning, her grace's labour pains came on; and between four or five in the morning William Trays was sent to London with two letters written by her grace herself, one for Dr. Hunter and one for nurse Tyson. About eight o'clock in the morning some of the servants were sent to London, not as she believed with an intent to conceal the delivery, but that the house might be quiet. About nine o'clock in the morning Trays, the butler, and nurse Tyson, arrived at Combe in a post chaise, her grace was then in strong labour, and soon after was delivered of a daughter by Tyson. The evidence was not present at the moment of delivery, being gone to warm some linen, but was in the room immediately after. She believed the child of which her grace was brought to bed, was begotten on her body by lord Ossory; but she did not believe her grace did all in her power to conceal it from the duke, her relations, and friends.

Her grace was delivered before Dr. Hunter arrived, and when he came, her grace threw a handkerchief over her face, and then the doctor was introduced into her grace's bedchamber; the doctor said all was right, and directed medicines; the child was dressed by nurse Tyson, the evidence, and Hannah Reed, in a white satin robe trimmed with lace and a



red mantle; Hannah Reed delivered the child to Dr. Hunter; that as the doctor was going away with the child, the evidence asked her if he would not stay a minute and let her grace see the child before it was carried away; the child was carried into her grace's room, and the face uncovered for her grace to see it; but it was so dark she believed her grace could not see it; the child's face was again covered, and the doctor took it away with him in the post chaise.

The first or second day after the delivery, William Trays was sent to the house in London for a silver saucepan, and next morning returned with it, and some hare skins which were applied to her grace's breast; the pan was used to warm her grace's drink.

About nine o'clock in the evening of the first or second day after grace's delivery, lord Ossory came to Combe, was shewn into her grace's bedchamber, and remained there till twelve o'clock. In two or three days he came again, about the same hour, and continued about the same time. One night he lay in her grace's house at Combe, but not near her grace's bedchamber. During her grace's month of lying in he frequently visited her, and was alone with her in her bedchamber, when no other person was admitted. His lordship still continued to visit her grace, and to be many hours alone with her.

Hannah Reed deposed to several of the particulars already mentioned; and also that her grace went out in her post chaise to the day of her delivery, and almost daily walked in the garden, and did not avoid being seen by any person in the family but her and Mrs. Duparg.

William Trays deposed to the fetching the nurse from London, and leaving a note for Dr. Hunter at his house in Windmill street; and other circumstances stated above.

Martha Tyson, nurse, deposed, that in July last when attending the duchess of Portland at her lying in, she received a note from Dr. Hunter, a man midwife of great eminence in his profession, desiring her

not



not to engage herself till she had seen him ; that when the duchess of Portland's month was up, she went to Dr. Hunter, and having heard that the duchess of Grafton was with child by lord Ossory, she was fearful in her own mind, that it was to attend the duchess ; Dr. Hunter told her she was to attend a lady a great friend of hers, but would not mention the lady's name. A fortnight after she went to the doctor and asked who the lady was, for she wanted to know before she went to her, adding that the world was all in an uproar about the duchess of Grafton, and asking if it was the duchess. Dr. Hunter then informed her it was the duchess.

On the morning of the 23d of August, William Trays came for her in a post chaise and four, and drove as fast as possible to her grace's at Combe. All the servants seemed to be out of the way except Mrs. Duparg and Hannah Reed. The duchess was in strong labour, and calling the evidence to her said, "*Tyson,* "*I hope I am more to be pitied than blamed.*" The evidence made no answer, having then more material business, the taking care of her grace. In an hour and a half her grace was brought to bed of a female child by the evidence. She believed the child had been begotten on the body of the duchess by lord Ossory ; for having said to her grace that it was the common report of the world that she was with child by lord Ossory, her grace did not contradict it. She told her grace that if lord Ossory came there, she the evidence would not see him ; and she never did see his lordship, but had heard from the servants of his being there.

That when Dr. Hunter came, her grace to conceal her face ordered a gauze or veil to be thrown over her. Dr. Hunter said to her he found all things right in the delivery, and that her grace was as well as could be expected ; he did not order any medicines, the evidence having taken with her what was proper. Dr. Hunter took away the child, to put it to nurse, and the duchess had told her that the said woman he had pro-



procured had a fine breast of milk. And Mrs. Golder the wet nurse took a lodging the corner of Air street, Piccadilly, where the evidence had often been to see the child; and the nurse told her that Dr. Hunter paid for nursing the child. That a person came to see her grace, after her grace's delivery, and remained several hours in her grace's bedchamber; that Mrs. Duparg came into the room where the evidence was and told her lord Ossory was come, but she did not go into her grace's bedchamber whilst he was there, not chusing so to do, lest she should see somebody whom she did not like to see. Some days after lord Ossory came again, and dined, supped, and lay in the house, but not near her grace's bedchamber.

We shall now give the depositions of Robert Adair, Esq; surgeon, and of Dr. William Hunter. We think it but justice to these gentlemen to give their depositions in a full manner, to shew the great delicacy, candour, and veracity, with which they acted in this secret and critical conjuncture.

Robert Adair, of Argyle street, in the county of Middlesex, Esq; aged fifty years, deposes and says, that he hath known his grace Augustus Henry duke of Grafton, one of the parties in this cause for several years last past; and by his grace marrying Ann duchess of Grafton, the other party in this cause, the deponent became acquainted with her grace; that he frequently visited them, as well as a friend, as in his profession of a surgeon: and he further saith, that, soon after her grace the duchess of Grafton was brought to bed of lord Charles Fitz Roy, her grace went into the country; and sometime after that, the time when he cannot particularly say, it was the public report that their graces were to live separate and apart from each other, which the deponent afterwards found to be true, for he hath since visited their graces in their separate houses: and, by reason thereof, and because the deponent hath never known or heard that they have ever been since in company together, but always heard and understood the contrary; and particu-



ticularly becaufe the deponent, fome time the latter end of January, or in or about the beginning of February laft, requested the duke to come to her grace's houfe, and fee his fon lord Eufton, who was then ill ; but his grace declined going : the deponent does therefore believe, that the duke of Grafton hath, never fince his feparation from the duchefs of Grafton, his wife, had the carnal ufe of the body of her grace, or any converfation or intercourfe whatever with her grace.

He further depofes and fays, that, in the months of January and February laft, this deponent did attend lord Eufton, their graces fon, at her grace's houfe in Seymour place, his lordfhip being then ill : that one day, when he was attending his lordfhip, he believes the latter end of the month of January, or the beginning of February, her grace the duchefs of Grafton and the deponent being alone, fhe told the deponent that fhe was in a very unhappy fituation ; and that every thing that was horrid and bad had happened to her : and her grace fo expreffed herfelf to the deponent ; and, upon the deponent's queftioning her as to what had happened, fhe faid, “ you can figure to “ yourfelf every thing that is unhappy or unfortu- “ nate :” that the deponent had then no declaration from her grace ; but, from what paffed, the deponent did conceive that her grace might be with child ; and therefore he put queftions to her, leading to difcovery whether fhe was or was not : and at length her grace did confeff, that fhe believed, and fhe had reason to think, that fhe was with child : and the deponent expreffed his great concern to her grace at her unhappy fituation, and faid, he hoped fhe was miftaken : that, in the courfe of his attendance upon lord Eufton, and after his lordfhip was well, the deponent was frequently with her grace, and converfed with her relative to her pregnancy ; and he afterwards found that fhe was really with child : and the deponent, for the laft time, attended her grace the day before fhe went into the country : and he further faith,

that,



that, some time in or about the month of May last, this deponent received a note from the earl of Upper Ossory, appointing a time when he would call upon the deponent, that he did call, and told him that he came to talk with him upon that unhappy affair, meaning the pregnancy of the duchess; and talked with the deponent relative to her delivery, and the management of it, with all the secrecy possible: but the deponent told him that it was impossible for him to undertake it; for it was not in his profession: and the deponent advised him to apply to Dr. Hunter; that he never before was applied to in any manner by lord Ossory: and he further saith, that, sometime in the month of June last, he received a letter from the duke of Grafton, one of the parties in this cause, to the purport, and as the deponent believes, in the words articulate: that, in consequence thereof, this deponent wrote a letter to her grace the duchess of Grafton, at Combe, in Surry, and inclosed therein a copy of the letter he received from the duke, and desired to know what the deponent should do on the occasion: that he received an answer to such letter, and was thereby desired to advise with lord Ossory; that he accordingly went to lord Ossory, and the deponent told him, that he thought it would be the best way for him to tell the duke: that he was not a stranger to it, and that there was no other way but that: and lord Ossory desired to see the deponent after he had been with the duke; that, in two or three days after, the deponent, in consequence of the said letter from the duke of Grafton, waited upon his grace, and being questioned by him, whether he was made privy to the duchess of Grafton's pregnancy, the deponent did tell his grace, that it was much against his inclination that he had ever known of her grace's pregnancy: that being made acquainted with it contrary thereto, yet he thought himself bound as a man of honour not spontaneously to discover or reveal it; but he thought it equally unbecoming a man of honour to aver a falsity: and therefore, being called upon by  
his



his grace, he could not avoid declaring, that he had been made acquainted with her grace's pregnancy : and the deponent expreffed his concern, understanding that he fhould be called upon as a witnefs ; but, as that was unavoidable, he faw no means, as a man of veracity, of concealing it ; nor fhould he attempt to depofe, in the leaft tittle, to an untruth, when called upon in a court of juftice : and the deponent, at fuch time, expreffed himfelf in words to that or the like effect, to his grace the duke of Grafton ; and told him that he had told lord Offory of the letter his grace had wrote the deponent, and that he certainly fhould fpeak the truth, when called upon fo to do : and he further faith, that he hath heard it publicly reported, that the duchefs of Grafton was brought to bed of a daughter, and by reafon that the deponent knows her grace was pregnant, he believes it to be true : and he further faith, that, by reafon that the duchefs of Grafton lived feparate from the duke, her husband, and the deponent's application from lord Offory, and the feveral circumftances before mentioned, the deponent is inclined to think, and does believe, that lord Offory was the father of fuch child : and the deponent believes, her grace ufed her endeavours to keep fuch her delivery a fecret from the duke her husband.

The fame witnefs upon interrogatories. To the firft interrogatory he anfwers, that he did attend lord Eufton as a furgeon, at his mother the duchefs of Grafton's houfe at Seymour place, in the months of January and February laft ; that her faid grace the duchefs of Grafton did not, during her faid fon's illnefs, exprefs to the deponent her defire that the duke of Grafton fhould come and fee his faid fon in his illnefs ; but, on the deponent's representation to her grace how unhappy the duke was at his fon's illnefs, her grace declared, that if the duke chofe to come and fee his fon, that fhe would go out of the houfe at fuch time.

William Hunter, doctör of phyfic, of Windmill ftreet, in the county of Middlefex, aged forty nine years,



years, depofes and fays, that he hath known their graces, Auguftus Henry duke of Grafton, and Ann duchefs of Grafton, his wife, the parties in this caufe, feveral years, and fo came to know them by attending her grace as a phyfician and man midwife, when her grace was firft with child by his faid grace the duke of Grafton, then lord Eufton: and he further faith, that, fome time the latter end of January, or the beginning of February laft, this deponent was applied to by Robert Adair, Efq; furgeon, in Argyle buildings to have this deponent's opinion and advice, in a cafe which diftrefsed him exceedingly; and told the deponent, that a lady fufpected herfelf to be with child in her husband's abfence, and that fhe had appiled to him both as a friend, and as a perfon of fkill, to affift her with his counfel in her diftrefs: and he further told the deponent, that he had been in fuch diftrefs fince he had been made a confidant thereof, that he could hardly fleep, becaufe he could not well refufe any affiftance that might be in his power, to a lady in fo unhappy a fituation, efpecially as fhe had trufted him with a fecret; yet, as he had fo high an efteem and regard for her husband, he was fhocked at the thoughts of being an agent in any fense, where the husband's honour, and the intereft of his family, were fo much concerned: and the faid Robert Adair expreffed himfelf to that, or the like effect, to the deponent; and that therefore he had applied to the deponent, and muft throw it upon him as much as he could: upon which, after having talked of the circumftances of the lady's health, the deponent defired that, if it could be eafily done, he might be alfo kept out of it; and advifed, that the lady fhould come to no refolution of difclofing the fecret to any perfon whatever, till three months at leaft, the ufual time of mifcarriage, were over; and that, if it fhould be neceffary to employ him, the deponent, further, he fhould defire, in fuch a cafe, not to know the lady, nor the father of the child, nor any circumftances of the matter, but what was neceffary information in his profeflion: that the faid Mr. Adair, to blind



the deponent, as he believes, and that the deponent might have no fufpicion who it was, faid the husband of the lady was abroad: that the deponent afterwards faw Mr. Adair feveral times upon the fame matter, and from the report that this deponent heard, at feveral different places, that the duchefs of Grafton was with child by lord Offory, and the deponent knowing the refpect Mr. Adair had for his grace the duke of Grafton, and that her grace the duchefs of Grafton, lived feparate from the duke, he did fufpect that fuch lady, of whom Mr. Adair talked, was the duchefs of Grafton: and this deponent further faith, that, when Mr. Adair had afterwards been confulting with the deponent, in relation to this matter, this deponent hath faid to Mr. Adair, “ you hear the report  
 “ all over the town of a certain great lady’s being  
 “ with child,” and the deponent might fay, he believes, a duchefs; that he fupposed it was the lady his friend; and the deponent did then underiland, from converfation, that fuch lady, of whom it was fo reported, and whom the deponent fo mentioned, and his, the faid Mr. Adair’s lady, to be the very fame person: and Mr. Adair and the deponent feemed perfectly well to underftand each other, that it was fo; but no names were mentioned by either, fo as directly to fix the very person, as he now beft remembers; that from that time, the deponent acted upon that fupposition, and has always found every circumftance agree with his fupposition: and further faith, that, fometime in or about the month of June laft, this deponent was applied to by a gentleman, who faid he came from a lady, on whose account the deponent had been confulted by Mr. Adair; and the deponent finding his buifnefs, faid, “ Sir, I desire you will mention no names nor circumftances, but what may be  
 “ neceffary for me in my profeffion, becaufe I would  
 “ wifh not to be in the fecret, and remain ignorant of  
 “ the parties concerned;” that fuch gentleman then asked the deponent if he could attend fuch lady in the country, when fhe laid in? and the deponent answered,



ed, that it would be very inconvenient, and might be impossible ; but that, in this case, he would do every thing in his power to serve that lady ; that, when sent for, he would come himself, if possible, or, if not, send any other person in the profession that she might approve of ; and the deponent told such gentleman, to advise the lady to provide herself with all the necessaries for her lying in, which they then calculated would be about the end of August, or the beginning of September ; agreeable to the information which the deponent had received from Mr. Adair : and this deponent further saith, that such gentleman met the deponent several times, relating to such lady, and at their last meeting, about a month before the lady was brought to bed, it was agreed by such gentleman, who said he was going to Ireland, and for that reason particularly wished to know the time, that he hoped to be back by the time, that the deponent should engage Mrs. Tyson as a nurse to the lady, because she attended her in her former lying in ; and that, when sent for, he should be desired simply to come to Combe in Surry : and that the deponent being convinced in his own mind, who the person was, thought it a sufficient direction, that the lady lived at the large white house that had been lord Grosvenor's ; and at such meeting, the deponent was likewise desired to provide a wet nurse for the child ; and he further saith, that on the 23d of August last, this deponent received a written message to the effect following, " Doctor Hunter is desired to come to Combe immediately," and he accordingly went, and in consequence of what passed at the meeting by him last mentioned, the deponent went to such large white house, and was introduced to a room next where the lady laid in : and the deponent saw the said nurse Tyson washing or dressing a new born female child ; and the said Mrs. Tyson told the deponent, the duchess was safely delivered, about half an hour ago, in a great hurry, but that her labour had been perfectly safe ; upon which the deponent said, " Mrs. Tyson, use no names



“ while I am here, as I desire to know nothing of  
 “ this case, but circumstances of health :” that he  
 was then conducted into the room, where the lady  
 lay upon a couch or bed ; that it was dark, so that he  
 saw no object distinctly : and the deponent having  
 talked with the lady, and found she was well, gave  
 her and the nurse such directions, very freely, as he  
 thought necessary, and recommended that, as the  
 matter was to be conducted with secrecy, and that he  
 had no doubt of a happy recovery, that she should be  
 satisfied at the deponent’s not coming again, but in  
 case of illness, and then to send to the deponent, who  
 would come immediately by night or day ; which  
 proposals the lady approved of : and he further saith,  
 that from the several circumstances by him before  
 mentioned, and the deponent being acquainted with  
 the duchefs of Grafton’s voice, and knowing from  
 public report, that the duchefs of Grafton lived in  
 the said great white house, that had been lord Gros-  
 venor’s, the deponent does very believe that such la-  
 dy was the duchefs of Grafton : and the deponent  
 further saith, that upon the first application to him,  
 by the gentleman as before mentioned, the deponent  
 having heard it publicly reported that the duchefs of  
 Grafton was with child by lord Ossory, the deponent  
 did apprehend, and does believe, that such gentle-  
 man was lord Ossory : and because such gentleman  
 called upon the deponent, on the evening of the day  
 on which the lady was delivered ; and the duchefs of  
 of Grafton living separate from the duke her husband,  
 the deponent believes, that such gentleman, whom as  
 aforesaid he believes to be lord Ossory, was the father  
 of the child, of which the said lady, whom as afore-  
 said, he believes to be the duchefs of Grafton, was so  
 delivered : but this deponent cannot be certain, as to  
 this instant of time he is a stranger to the person of  
 lord Ossory ; and that, from the first, the deponent  
 was assured that such lady meant, that such her deli-  
 very should be a secret from her husband ; and he  
 be-



believes, she never sent notice of such her delivery to her husband.

He further deposes and says, that when the deponent received the message to go to Combe, as by him before mentioned, he was attending a labour in Stanhope street, near May Fair, and thereupon he directed a post chaise and four to be procured by his servant, and to come to him in Stanhope street: that the deponent afterwards directed the post chaise to the end of Stanhope street, by the Park wall, to wait till he came, and soon afterwards the deponent went into the chaise; but he cannot recollect whether he said any thing upon seeing his own coachman one of the postilions; but the deponent did think it a little unfortunate, as he was so remarkable in his person, and generally known to be the deponent's servant: that upon the deponent's getting into the chaise, the deponent believes, he directed the postilions to drive to Putney, and that afterwards he told them to go to Combe; that they several times enquired their way to the great white house, and the deponent finding himself near, got out of the chaise, and told the postilions to wait his return: and the deponent got over some rails, and went through a little inclosure that led to the house; and soon after the deponent's arrival, he found the lady had been delivered of a female child; and upon his enquiry of the said nurse Tyson the deponent found all was right in her delivery; and nurse Tyson was then washing or dressing the child; and the deponent was introduced into the room where the lady was, and the conversation passed as by him before mentioned: and he further saith, that the child was dressed as children usually are, and the deponent believes had on, when dressed, a white satin robe, and a red blanket over it; and the deponent believes, that as he was going away, the lady's maid might say, "Sir, stay a minute, won't you let the duchess see the child before it goes?" And that the deponent might reply, by all means; but the deponent did not go into the room with the child; that one of the la-



dy's ſervants, who had a cloak on, followed the deponent to the chaiſe, and when he got in, gave it to the deponent, as a long bundle, which it appeared like : and the deponent pulled up all the blinds, and, as he believes, directed the poſtilions to drive immediately home to his houſe in London, as faſt as they could : that he believes he got home about twelve o'clock, and when he got out of the chaiſe, he put the child under his cloak, to prevent its being obſerved that he was carrying a child into his houſe : and the deponent told his coachman to tell Mrs. Eaſtcoat the number of miles they had been, but not to ſay where : and the deponent gave him and the other poſtilion half a crown each, and ſaid, that if he found it was not known where they had been, they ſhould have half a crown more each ; and he further ſaith, that he aſſured the ſaid lady he had got a good nurse for the child, and would be particularly attentive to it.

He further depoſes and ſays, that one Mrs. Geland\* who lived in Little Earl ſtreet near the ſeven dials, was the nurse the deponent had provided for the ſaid child, and to whom the deponent had agreed to give a guinea and an half per month : and the deponent, ſometime after he came home, ſent to Mrs. Geland to come to him at four o'clock, which ſhe did ; and the deponent told her to keep the child clean ; and as the deponent remembers, the white ſattin robe was taken off the child, and a white dimity frock put on : and the deponent directed her to look for a lodging in an airy place, and aſked her if ſhe would have a coach or a chair ? and ſhe answered ſhe would walk : and the deponent believes he gave her a guinea, which is a fee called dozens upon receiving a child to nurse, ſomething like the entrance money paid upon a child's being placed at a ſchool : and further to this article he cannot depoſe, ſave that he believes he told Mrs. Geland ſhe would know in time whoſe child it was ; but there were reaſon's for keeping it a ſecret at preſent.

\* Or Golder, under which name ſhe gave her evidence.



He further deposes and says, that in consequence of the deponent's directions to Mrs. Geland, to look out for a lodging, she found one in Rathbone place, which the deponent looked at, but did not approve of it, but not on account of the deponent's not esteeming it a proper place for secrecy : and the deponent directed her to look out for one in Piccadilly ; the deponent thinking that an airy place, and more convenient for the deponent to visit the child : that she took a lodging, with the deponent's approbation, the corner of Air street, Piccadilly, where the child hath ever since, and now doth reside : that this deponent hath paid money on account of nursing the said child, under the directions of the said gentleman, whom he believes to be lord Ossory ; and the said lady, whom he believes to be the duchess of Grafton : and the deponent told the said gentleman, he would keep an account of what he disbursed, from time to time, and give it in ; and the deponent has no doubt of being repaid what he has or shall disburse, by the said gentleman or lady, or one of them.

Mr. and Mrs. Albert deposed to sending the six hare skins to be applied to the duchess's breasts after her lying in.

William Kenning, postilion, deposed, that in August last a servant of Dr. Hunter's came in a great hurry to Mrs. Eastcott's of Crown yard, Silver street, Golden square, whom he then lived with, and ordered a post chaise and four instantly to go to Stanhope street, May Fair ; the evidence, and Dr. Hunter's coachman were the postilions ; they went with the chaise to Stanhope street, and in fifteen or twenty minutes were ordered with the chaise to the Park wall till the doctor came ; soon after he did come, and getting in ordered them to drive to Combe in Surry. When arrived in the parish of Combe, the doctor desired them to drive to the white house upon the hill, which was the house the duchess of Grafton lived in ; but the evidence mistaking the road, the doctor jumped out, and desired him to wait till he returned ; the  
doc-



doctor then got over some rails, and through some grass, where there were high trees near the house, and returned in about an hour. In the mean time they drove their horses up to the hedge and eat black berries. On seeing the doctor coming back they drove to meet him, he was followed by a woman, with something like an odd bundle under her arm, and from what he hath heard since, he now believed that bundle was a child. The doctor got in, received the bundle, ordered them to drive to his house in Windmill street, to go through a wood, which would bring them into the Kingston road, and to make hake; he then pulled up the blinds. They drove pretty fast, but the doctor's coachman pressing him to drive faster, he replied he would not, and that he would not spoil his mistress's horses for nobody. They drove so expeditiously however, that they were in town in an hour and a quarter. The doctor got out at his own house, put the bundle under his coat, that it might not be seen. The doctor's servant gave the coachman two half crowns, one of which he gave to the evidence, saying that if it was not reported where they had been, they should have half a crown more.

Mary Golder deposed, that six months ago she applied to Dr. Hunter a physician and man midwife in Windmill street Piccadilly, to get her a place as a wet nurse; that Dr. Hunter told her he could help her to a child at home, which he thought might do as well. That sometime after he called on her, and desired her to come to his house at four o'clock in the afternoon for the child. When she went the child was lying on a bed up stairs, and had on a white sattin robe and a red mantle; the doctor wiped the sattin robe, and she thinking it was his, and that he had carried it with him for the purpose of putting it on the child, when he brought it away, she took it off and put on a dimity robe. The doctor recommended to her to take care of the child, and gave her a guinea. He agreed to give her a guinea and a half a month for nursing the child. This was on a Tuesday, and on the Saturday he



he called to see the child. She had already received four guineas and an half, besides the first guinea, which was for dozens.

Sentence of divorce from bed, board, and mutual cohabitation passed in the usual form.

*The intimacy between her grace and the earl appears to have commenced by the evidence in 1767 at Brixthelmstone. Her grace was then about thirty years of age, and the earl about twenty two, having been born in May 1745. The earl is descended from Heremon, first monarch of the Milesian race in Ireland. After this family assumed the surname of Fitz Patrick, they were for many ages kings of Ossory, in Leinster.*

*The earl married the duchess the 26th of March 1769, as soon as she was divorced from her husband the duke.*

Trial



Trial of his ROYAL HIGHNESS  
HENRY FREDERICK Duke of CUMBERLAND,  
For ADULTERY with the  
Rt. Hon. HENRIETTA Lady GROSVENOR  
WIFE of the  
Right Hon. RICHARD Lord GROSVENOR;

B E F O R E

The Right Honourable Lord M A S F I E L D,  
On Thursday, July 5th 1776, in the Court of KING'S BENCH.

*This Trial continued from eight o'clock in the morning till ten at night.*

*Counsel for Lord Grosvenor the Plaintiff, Mr. Wedderburn, Serjeant Glynn, Serjeant Leigh, Messrs. Wallace, Walker, and Lee.*

*Attornies, Messrs. Partington and Garth.*

*Counsel for the Duke of Cumberland the Defendant, Messrs. Dunning, Skynner, Mansfield, and Impey.*

*Attornies, Messrs. Buxton and Winduse.*

*The Damages were laid at £.100,000l.*

THE defendant's counsel contended, that laying the damages at an hundred thousand pounds was excessive and immoderate. The counsel for the plaintiff replied, that in the reign of Charles II. the duke of York sued for higher damages against Mr. Pilkington one of the sheriffs of London, in an action of scandalum magnatum, in the court of King's Bench, and obtained a verdict for an hundred thousand pounds. They also urged, that the injury being done to an inferior aggravated the crime.

Mr. Wedderburn strongly insisted on the case being more criminal from the defendant's rank. He quoted the case of lord Belfield, now earl of Belvedere, (see our first volume, pages 23 to 29, for this trial) who obtain-



obtained twenty thousand pounds damages against his brother Mr. Rochford, for committing adultery with his wife lady Belfield. He also quoted the case of Mr. Dormer, to whom a jury gave a verdict of five thousand pounds damages against Jones his footman, for committing adultery with Mrs. Dormer. (*For this trial see volume first, pages 91 to 97.*)

Mr. Wedderburn then entered into a state of the facts; tracing his royal highness through all his excursions, and his assuming the fictitious names of *Squire Morgan*, *Squire Jones*, and the *Farmer*; that sometimes he was a young squire disordered in his senses, and was on that account called *the Fool*; that at St. Alban's, when lord Grosvenor's servants broke open lady Grosvenor's bedchamber door, the duke of Cumberland was with lady Grosvenor, and his waistcoat loose and unbuttoned; that lady Grosvenor's dresser was unbuttoned, and her breasts wholly bare and exposed; that on their rushing in lady Grosvenor ran towards the door that led into the next room, but fell in the attempt; that whilst the servants were raising her ladyship up, his royal highness availed himself of the opportunity to run out, and when on the outside of the door called on them "*to take notice, he was not found in the room, and that he would take HIS BIBLE OATH he was not.*"

He then referred to several passages in the letters; that the transport with which the duke mentioned the incident of the *dear Little couch*, would leave little doubt of lord Grosvenor's dishonour being compleat.

He added a variety of accurate and judicious observations. He lamented that his royal highness should unfortunately have made himself the first instance, where the brother of the family upon the throne, had seduced the wife of a peer of England; that it would have been happy if his majesty's regular conduct had diffused into his royal highness and into his subjects, to make them pure as he is; that his royal highness saw in his own family the greatest example of piety and conjugal fidelity; that the severest verdict the jury



ry could give would have a most salutary effect; it would teach his royal highness the great and useful lesson, that the laws of England in the hands of an English jury, were superior to the most elevated degree of rank.

He then informed the Court of the manner in which lord Grosvenor discovered the correspondence between lady Grosvenor and his royal highness. Lord Grosvenor met one of the servants near Chester, carrying a letter from lady Grosvenor to put into the post office; his lordship took the letter, sent the servant on another message, saying he would put the letter in the post office himself; his curiosity led him to open it, and he found it was from his wife to the duke; he took a copy of it, put the original into the post office, and took his measures so well that he intercepted all the rest.

Mr. Wedderburn then read the letters which took up a long time.

*LETTERS that passed between his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, and the Right Honourable Lady Grosvenor; also Lady Grosvenor's letters to her sister Miss Vernon, and one letter of reproof and admonition from Miss Vernon to Lady Grosvenor.*

## L E T T E R I.

My Ever Dearest Love

HOW sorry I am that I am deprived the Pleasure of seeing this Evening but especially as you are in pain God grant it over upon my knees I beg it altho' it may go off for a few days it must return and then you will be easy my only joy will be happy, how shall I thank you for your kind Note your tender manner of expressing yourself calling me your dear friend and at this time that you should recollect me. I wish I dare lye all the while by yuor bed and nurse you—for you will have nobody near you that loves you as I do thou dearest Angel of my Soul O that I could but bear your  
pain



pain for you I should be happy what grieves me most that they who *ought to feel* dont know inestimable Prize the 'Treasure they have in you—thank God if it should happen now Mr. Croper is out of Town and you may be quiet for a few Days—I shall go out of Town to night but shall stay just for an answer pray if you can just write me word how you find yourself, I shall be in Town by eight Tomorrow Evening in hopes of hearing again I am sure my Angel is not in greater pain than what my heart feels for my adorable Angel—I sent this by D—— servant she is gone to Ranelagh do if you write direct to her the Boy has my orders & will bring it to me—Adieu God bless you and I hope before Morning your dear little one.

To Lady G——.

## L E T T E R II.

My Dear little Angel

I AM this instant going out of Town ten thousand Thanks for your kind note I am sure nothing could make my aking heart to night bearable to me than when you say you are sensible how much I love you pray God it may be over before morning or that you may be better I shall be in town at eight o'clock for I shall long to know how you are dont mention to D that I wrote by her servant to you for I have ordered him not to tell—Adieu Good night God bless the Angel of my Soul Joy and Happiness without whom I have no comfort and with whom all the happiness alive au revoir I hope very soon.

To Lady G——.

## L E T T E R III.

My Dear little Angel.

I WROTE my last Letter to you yesterday at eleven o'clock just when we sailed I dined at two o'clock and as for the afternoon I had some music I have my own servant on board that plays and a couple



of hands from London for the six weeks I am out we were a good many at Dinner I had about 9 People Yesterday and shall have more when the rest of my Squadron join me they staid with me till near seven I got to supper about 9 o'clock but I could not Eat, and so got to bed about 10—I then prayed for you *my dearest love kissed your dearest little Hair* and laye down and dreamt of you had you on the dear little *couch* ten thousand times in my arms kissing you and telling you how much I loved and adored you and you seemed pleased but alas when I woke I found it all dillusion *no body by me but myself at Sea* I rose by time at half past five and went upon deck there I found my friend *Billy* and walked with him for about an hour till Barrington came to me we then breakfasted about eight o'clock and by nine I began and exercised the Ships under my command till twelve it is now one, and when I finish this Letter to you my dear Love I shall dress and go to dinner at two o'clock it is a rule on board to dine at two, breakfast at eight and sup at nine—always if nothing hinders me I shall be a-bed by ten or soon after and up by half past 5 in the morning in order to have if there is any occasion orders ready for the Fleet under my command before I begin to exercise them—I am sure the account of this Days duty can be no pleasure to you my love yet it is exactly what I have done and as I promised you always to let you know my motions and my thoughts I have now performed my promise this day to you and always will untill the very last letter you shall have from me which will be when I between 5 and 6 weeks hence send the Admiralty word that I am arrived at Spithead then I shall only wait for their answer which will be with me in a few hours to strike my Flag and then I shall return to you that instant O' my love mad and happy beyond myself to tell you how I love you and have thought of you ever since I have been separated from you the wind being contrary to day about one I put off dinner till three o'clock in order to anchor Ships for this Night in Portland Road just off  
Wey-



Weymouth about 2 Miles I hope to sail to-morrow by 5 in the Morning I hope you are well I am sure I need not tell you I have had nothing in my thoughts but your dearself and long for the time to come back again to you I will all the while take care of myself because you desire *my dear little Friend* does the Angel of my heart pray do you take care of your dearself for the sake of your faithful servant who lives but to love you to adore you, and to bless the moment that he has made you generous enough to own to him I hope my dear nay I will dare to say you never will have reason to repent it, the Wind was not so contrary but we could have sailed on but I told Barrington that as it was not fair I would anchor especially as I could send one of my Frigates in for that I had dispatches of consequence to send to London indeed my dear Angel I need not tell you I know you read the reason too well that made me do so it was to write to you for God knows I have wrote to none else nor shall I at any other but to the King God bless you most amiable and dearest little creature living--aimons toujours mon adorable petite amour je

vous adore plusque la vie mesme

I have been reading for about an hour this morning Prior and find these few lines just now applicable to us

Now oft had *Henry* changed his sly *disguise*,  
 Unmarked by all but beauteous Harriets eyes ;  
 Oft had found means alone to see the Dame,  
 And at her feet to breath his am'rous flame :  
 And oft the pangs of absence to remove  
 By letters soft interpreters of love  
 Till Time and Industry (the mighty two  
 That bring our wishes nearer to our view)  
 Made him perceive that the inclining fair  
 Received his vows with no reluctant ear ;  
 That *Venus* had confirmed her equal Reign  
 And dealt to Harriets heart a share of *Henry's*  
 pain.



Such is my amusement to read those sort of things that puts me in mind of our mutual feelings and situations now God bless you till I shall again have an opportunity of sending to you, I shall write to you a letter a day as many days as you miss herein of me when I do they shall all come Friday 16 June God bless I shall not forget you God knows you have told so before I have your heart and it lies warm in my breast I hope mine feels as easy to you thou joy of my life adieu

To Lady G——.

#### L E T T E R IV.

Sunday the 18th.

My dearest Friend

I SENT a letter last night but fear you could not receive it while on shore, but I hope it wd not be long getting to you, I hope you are perfectly well, and have had a good voyage so farr.

he appears rather in better temper to day, so I'm in great hopes he did not get enough of the Letter to make out much he stayed out very late last night which seems to have occasioned a *sweezing* to day, by the means of my Sisters I think I can send and receive my Letters very safe for the future. Carry is out of town for a few days so in the mean time I send them by another Sister who comes to see me every day, and she thinks it some business I have with Reda about some Millenary that I dont chuse he should know of so if she gets ever a Letter for me she knows she is not to take it out of her pocket till we are alone so its all cleverly settled again at present, how miserable I should have been if we could not have contrived to hear from one another, I quite live only upon the thoughts of its not being a great while before I have the happiness of a Letter from you, for I'm very sure you'll write as soon as you can, I know your tenderness for me well enough to be certain of that,——



he is coming up stairs I find so I shall conclude till to-morrow, God bless you my Dear Dear Friend.

Monday the 19th.

I resume my pen to tell you to day how sincerely I esteem you, he is still rather more come about again to day, Yesterday he shook hands with me, and this morning he came & kissed me and said he was going out of Town to Wathamstow to dine with his Brother, perhaps he is gone to ask his advice, but I don't care he may take what measures he pleases with me if you will but love me, I'd a note from Mrs. Reda this evening she sais she is certain he dares not say a word to her but she wishes he would above all things for that she knows very well how to answer him for that she knows enough of his Intrigues for him to be afraid saying any thing to her, and she is sure he is not *assez Hardi* to say a word to her upon the subject, her note was in answer to one she had received from me to prepare her in case he should speak to her and I told her if he asked her any questions to say she knew nothing of where or who the letter came from,—I hope I shall be in London when you come back, I dares say I shall fancy he had' not a mind to part with me let him have seen what he wou'd in the Letter for he asked me Yesterday when I shou'd be able to go into Cheshire, I told him I co'd not give the least guess as it depended intirely upon how I was, and I think I've lay'd a good scheme for I've already complained I've got a pain in my side & intend to say it's much worse at the end of the month & that I can't bear the motion of a carriage, it will I really believe be a very good plan, for if I said I had a Feaver or any thing of that kind a physician would know by my pulse I had not & might discover me to him, & besides this will be a more lasting complaint so at the end of five or six weeks, I'll grow very ill and send for Fordyce the Apothecary and make him send me a quantity of nasty draughts which I'll throw out of the window only think how wicked I am for in realitty I'm already as



strong and as well as ever I was in my life, Ly Harrington called upon me the other day to know how I did I longed to see her but dared not as he was at home, I intend to go to her as soon as I can get out, Lady Barrymore was with her I've heard nothing of D— I suppose she is afraid of writing or coming as he is in Town but I shall write to her soon, my month is out by the week the 5th of July but by the month not till the 7th so I'll take it at the longest and not be well at the end of it, that we maint lye together and he must be going to New market the 8th or 9th for the Races which are the Tenth and he'll stay there some days and when he comes home he shall find me worse with the pain in my side, and your Six Weeks will be out the 26th & I hope you'll not be long after that, I'm quite in sperrits with the thoughts that by some means or other we shall make out the time that I shall be so happy as to see you when you return, my Dear Soul, Adieu till to-morrow when I shall add more, continue to love me pray

Tuesday Evening the 20th

I'm going to Teize my dear little Friend with more of my stupid Letter, I've not seen Mr. Croper since yesterday morning he did not come home from his Brothers till I was asleep last night, & went early this morning to set for his picture to West and Just came home to dress and went out to dinner without coming up stairs & left a Gentleman in the house that he had made come up ten miles out of the Country to dine with him Mr. Knox his great Friend, so is he below stairs dining by himself, I cannot think what the Duce he is about,—I suppose by his not coming up to see me Mr. Gro—r has cunsur'd out part of the Letter and advised him to be angry but I shall see if he comes home to Tea & how he behaves—there is no news about to talk to you off so god knows my Letter is stupid enoughto tire you to Death, for I can only give you an account of our odd way of going on at home, when I go out I will tell you every where I go every hour of the day.



O my Dearest Soul I've just received Two the dearest Letters in the World from you, how can I I cannot express My feelings of gratitude and Love for you, your dear heart is so safe with me and feels every emotion mine does, with you, how happy your dearest letters make me I'm so much obliged to you for saying you will take care of your dear Health because I desire you, do my dearest Friend I entreat you, & I'll do the same, how sweet those verses are you sent me they are heavenly sweet because they are marked by you I always liked Prior' but shall adore him because you like him, I'm made quite happy to night by having fresh assurances of yr Love, you have mine intirely, how happy will the day be to me that brings you back I wonder where I shall see you first I form a Thousand happy ideas to myself I shall be unable to speak from Joy, in the mean time let us write as often as possible, how kind it was of you to say you had letters of consequence to write when it was only to poor me, Your Dear little heart is flurried too on reading ye dear letters it has both laught and cry'd with Joy it lies warm in my breast I cherish it and think of nothing else but to preserve it there safe and happy, my dearest Soul I send you Ten Thousand kisses I wish I could give them,—God blefs you I will now conclude for I'm sure this letter is stupid enough to tire you to death pray forgive it, I'm finishing it in the dark, I see nobody to tell me any thing to make my Letter entertaining, so can only tell you how sincerely I do and ever shall love you, and I know you'll like that as well as any thing for nothing makes me so happy as your telling me so & we love too well not to love by sympathy.

Amons tout Jour Tendrement mon adorable ammi mon tres chere ame.

I'll write again every day, and send it to Reda at all opporturnitys, God blefs you *my dearest Dear life.* I shall ever love you.

*This*



50 Trial of his R. H. the Duke of CUMBERLAND,

*This letter was inclosed in a Cover directed to his R.  
H. the D—— of C——.*

## L E T T E R V.

Portland Road Saturday 17th June

My ever dearest little angel,

THE wind to day is not fair so I shall stay here in Portland Road till it is and take this precious moment in sending this other Note to you I hope it will find you well and that you are not afraid of being gone out of Town before I return back to you thou loveliest dearest Soul I have been reading since my last note of Yesterday to you a great deal out of Prior keeping the *Heroine* bye till I have read quite thro' and find many things in it to correspond with us exactly

Hear solemn Jove ; and conscious Venus hear ;  
And thou bright Maid, believe me, whilst I swear,  
No Time, no Change no Future Flame shall move  
The well plac'd Basis of my lasting Love,

Do not think I wanted this Book with me to tell me how well I loved you, you know the very feelings of My heart yet it is great pleasure when I am reading to find such passages that coincide so much with my own ideas of *dear* you, I will write constantly it is my only entertainment that and hearing from you will be except my Duty on board the only thought or employment I shall have or even wish I have just now had a message from shore it is about 2 Miles from Weymouth to go to the rooms this Morning, I have excused myself being much quieter on Board and happier in writin, to you, You are not there or else the Boat that should carry me would go too slow I long for that happy moment that brings me back again to all I love and to all that I adore — indeed I am sorry my letters are so stupid, pray write to me you know whether to send them to send them to D—— or to Mrs Reda—— I long to hear from



from you it is now within two days of a fortnight indeed it seems forty thousand years, how happy when we meet that our letters has opened to each other the very feelings of our honest hearts—permit me to name yours with mine then they will be words and happy looks from two of the most sincere Friends alive Your heart is well altho' fluttered while I write to you I hope mine is hurried too they ought to have had the same emotions I know they have they are above dissembling I must now conclude God bless you I send you ten thousand kisses pray when you receive this return them to me for I want them sadly.

Addieu je vous aime adorable  
petite Creature je vous adore ma chere petite bejoux  
l'amant de mon cœur——

God bless I will write constantly.  
To Lady G——.

## L E T T E R VI.

HOW do you do my dear little sweet Carry I do long to see you and hope soon to hear from you again at least at Mrs. H——I believe we don't set out for there till Wednesday but if any letter comes for me to her she will take care of it till I come My Lord went out Yesterday to Halkin Hollywell &c and stays till tomorrow dinner he left Mr. Gros——r with me but as he went out for an hour I seized this favourable opportunity to write you a line, but he unfortunately returned before I had finished the enclosed which will I'm heartily sorry make this shorter than I proposed for I've nothing but nonsense to write, I do love writing to my dear Carry its a great pleasure in absence from those one loves, I hope my dear love you are well. I se Almaks begins the 1st of Decr. W'd to good fortune We were all going together well I hope there will not many pass first for I se thanks to good fortune the Parliament meets the 9th of January so I'm living on hopes of coming before then, they are all pestering me to come to supper, Gd, cur——e them  
I wish



I wish them at Jericoe, first one peeping there head in then the other and Mr. G—— shutt up taking snuff in my dressing room; I'm stole into my Bed-chamber coue se qui coue I'll finish my stupied Letter I propose you a'much longer soon I hope you amuse yourself well in London, poor little Carry I do love you dearly, did you get my letter safe after Hollywell, I hope so, will you my love be so kind to let me trouble you to send the enclosed, I expect my Ld the second of Decr. will you write a line by them my love, I always burn your letters immediately as safe as a thief in a Mill—he has never once named my Friend & is in a tolerable humour. Tomm lives and dies with him, odd people drop & I now & then play a game at cards, if you should see Billy you may just give him a hint (if quite convenient) not to name my Friend if he writes—but a dismal life I have here *Dear Heart Dear Heart w<sup>t</sup> a tireble life do I lead* I may well sing that song and often—they are Bawling about supper so farewell I'm ashamed of my Letter the Devil take 'em I'll write a long one soon Dear little Dear Carry a thousand times farewell *a Thousand times the worse to want thy light.* I die to see you my dearest Friend and Sister ever with sincerest truth and Affection.

Yrs

H. G.

What a deal of talk shall we have when we meet I never shall have done.

*The foregoing Letter and that directed to the D—— of C—— were enclosed in a cover directed by Thomas Grosvenor, Esq; as follows:*

<p>T Free Grosvenor</p>	<p>To the Honble Miss Vernon at St. James's Palace London</p>
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L E T-



L E T T E R VII.

My dearest Soul

Friday Night

HOW happy you made me by your Letter it seem  
 ages to me since I heard from you tho' in reality not  
 many days, but Minutes count for years with those  
 that love, but I dont like to hear that you have still a  
 little cough you dont take care of yourself, I wish I  
 could take care of you indeed—he went out yesterday  
 morning to Halkin and Holywell & dont return till  
 tomorrow dinner, he left Mr. Gros—r and 3 or 4  
 people with me, who are gone and Mr. G—— is just  
 gone out for an hour, so I take this favourable time  
 to write to you and shall send it off in the Morning,  
 I long most heartily for the time I shall see you again,  
 your letter came perfectly safe, I was so happy to get  
 it, I hope you will have received my last safe where I  
 sent you the account of Hollywell, only think of your  
 having lost your road to Tarpolly I should have been  
 so miserable if I'd known it at the time I'm so sorry,  
 how dreadful at that time of night its a terrible in-  
 triket road, I'd a very odd discourse with Mr. G——  
 to day about my lord he first began by saying he was  
 very uneasy about his health and did not think he was  
 so well as he used to be & he ought to take great care,  
 he after that said he thought he gave up his whole  
 time attention and fortune to Horses and was worse  
 and worse infatuated than ever about them and that  
 he never could talk upon any other subject therefore  
 he never could have any discourse with him and that  
 he would lose all his acquaintance but Jockeys, I  
 I could not help laughing at his description of him  
 which was very just for sais he he will set for half an  
 hour with his eyes fixed upon a Table or Chair &  
 then apply to Tomm or any body that is by, do you  
 know what Mare such a Filly was out of, or can you  
 tell what Horse such a Colt was got by, by God, I  
 have got the best stud in England no body will have  
 any horses to run but me very soon, then if he or any  
 body that dont understand that subject offers to men-  
 tion



tion any thing else he is as cross as any thing for half an hour, and then fast asleep, so says Mr. G—— you see nobody ever comes to see him but in partys, I never do says he, I always get people to come every day to meet me or else I know my amusement would be to see him snoring in one corner of the room instead of being sociable & like other people—this was as you may imagine a Tete a Tete subject but its so exact a picture of him I was resolved you should have it—I'll tell you how I pass my time I get up about eight or I'm afraid nine Breakfast at ten then walk or ride dine at 3, stupifie or play at stupified cards after Tea with any body that drops in (he never plays) this lasts till supper but I now & then steal off we sup soon after nine, and in bed before eleven, where I always dream of you my Dearest Friend—I hope soon to have a letter from Carry with some writing from you in milk, I fancy we shant go to Mrs. H——, till Wednesday when I shall hope for a letter from you if it arrives before me it will be safe as I'd a letter to day to say if any came from Carry they should be taken care off, I imagine we shant come away till quite the end of the week and shall then be so happy in the thoughts of seeing you in a few days, how I long for the 1st and 2d of December and yet it is being too selfish for what a situation for you but I'll say no more of that as you are so kind to say you dont mind it, to day is my birth day, I think it has turned out quite lucky to me as I've such an opportunity of writing to you. Mr. G—— is come home which obliges me to shorten it and vexes me, tho' Ive nothing but nonsense to talk off—I dont like to be interrupted & prevented and I must write to Carry a line as I inclose this to her, I see Almacks begins the 1st Dec. do take a dance there and tell me how it looks it will make but two days difference & I cant bear to prevent you from every thing O dear I am always a teasing you, I think I'm quite provoked at my self, I wish to God I was the only one to suffer in an uncomfortable situation and I'd bear every thing with pleasure but  
the



the thoughts of my dearest Friend being unhappy is ten times more to me than any thing I could ever suffer, indeed my dearest life it is believe me that is my greatest anxiety and concern, I can never make you amends but my sincerest love you shall ever have from the bottom of my soul that you are kind enough to say you value and as long as you esteem it and give me yours it will be our mutual comfort, God bless you my dearest Soul.—I'm glad the time is fixed for the Parliament meeting which I hope will bring us to Town Farewell a thousand times most sincerely till we meet

My dearest Soul ever most  
faithfully and affectionately  
Your's H——

I'll write Carry a line and then go to Mr. G——  
I'm happy in keeping my own room.

Dearest Soul adieu au revoir  
I'll write from Mrs. H—— & tell you when we return here.

*The above letter was inclosed in a cover directed to the D— of C——. In one of the folds of the cover was wrote, Thursday night I believe I said Friday by mistake in the letter.*

## L E T T E R VIII.

IF you have a mind to see your Wife go off with her gallant place yourself at K——Gs Garden door at a little before Eight and you will see her and her little Sister go with him to his own back door a little way off and so return the same way at half an hour after nine if you are fool enough to discover this information or not be thankful for it, you shall have no more that's all at present from your humble Servant

Jack Sprat

To L—d G——



## L E T T E R IX.

I KNOW you did as I instructed you to do some time ago concerning the Garden Gate, but they were alarmed and made their escape some other way to their married sisters The little Devil is in all the schemes and goes into the garden with them over against your Windows continually playing fine pranks under your nose. I dare say they will meet there tomorrow Evening——Kensington Pallace in the morning (where no servant is allowed to follow) is the constant practice. As you did not discover my first intelligence I shall give it to you till you do, from your unknown Friend

Jack Sprat

To L—d G———

## L E T T E R X.

My Dearest Sister

Eaton Monday night.

HOW do you do I long to hear from you I go to Town Wednesday & shall be very happy if I find a Letter from you we shall leave it again on Friday I hope you received my last safe——I've been a little alarmed by my maid having told me it has got a little about here that he has been in this part of the world, I've but a few minutes to write in as my Lord is at home, but was determined to let them know immediately and should take as a great favour my love if you would forward it as soon as possible as it is necessary on some accounts to inform them as soon as possible——upon account of the intended visett, I hope to God this Letter will get safe to you, I thank God my dear Carry that I am like to see you before its very long as my Lord says he will certainly be up by the meeting of Parliament, I pray God we may as soon as I know the day I'll send you word I warrant me——what a vast deal of talk we shall have——I'm all in a twitter dreading every moment he may come in so dare say but little as it would betray all and undo us he has never named their name to all seems quite I pray God to keep it  
so



fo—I dont fancy he has heard any thing God bless  
you my dear Carry, I love you sincerely & I wish  
could write more but dare not I'm dying with fright, so  
Adieu my dear little Soul I'll write soon,  
ever with the sincerest affection

Yours H : G :  
I hope you've had some diversions my Love I desired  
they would write me an answer as soon as possible in  
Lemon Duce, if you would permit it and inclose it.

To the Honble  
Miss V——Maid of Honour  
St. James's Palace  
London

## LETTER XI.

ONCE more and no more if I have not often e-  
nough pointed out ways for you to be convinced of  
the Truth, I am not your friend but if you have not  
a mind you will take no Notice perhaps of a certain  
person that is gone in disguise and ly's at every Inn  
where she does examine your servants and they will be  
more able to tell you of his constant attendance. He  
is now about your house and Gardens in the Country.  
Jack Sprat

To L—d G———

## LETTER XII.

To His Royal Highness the D—— of C——

My Dearest Soul Monday night

I HOPE you are well I'm come up stairs for bed,  
so steal this safe Moment to write to you a line to tell  
you of something that has happened, & tho' I hate to  
say any thing to you that may be disagreeable still  
I'm always determined never to conceal any thing  
from you, as you can then act as you think will be  
best my Maid tells me there has been some of our ser-  
vants telling her that its all about here that you have  
been here & she has really told me every particular that



you came down with us, and that we met here in the Fields and Lanes, and the day you went away, and that you was at Chester, at Halkin and they knew you there, that you used to have your horses at Eccleston the little Alehouse, that you had a Gentleman with you & a servant, I denied it & said I wd acquaint my Lord and make every body prove what they had said, Upon which she turned pale looked vastly frighted, and said it was from one person she had heard it & beg'd it might not be mentioned unless she heard more, this makes me hope she made the most of it but yet I fear it has been much talked of by her naming so many particular facts, dont be alarmed my dear Friend, but act as you think proper in regard to your coming down—the worst come to the worst thank God my Lord has told Mr. Gros—r before me we should all be in town in about a month—Nothing could make me so unhappy as not to see you, but at the same time we had better not do any thing imprudent, and we might possibly not be able to meet but very seldom which when you had taken so much trouble in coming would give me if possible more concern than for you not to come, but consider it well over my Dearest Friend if we can meet with safety nothing could give me so much but our feelings and our danger in this is mutual, for our meeting imprudently might endanger our not meeting so often at another time, but could not be done safely it would be a pity to loose any of our (too few) opportunities—I was very much frighted at first but by thinking it over am not quite so much alarmed & hope it is not so much talked off as she said—she said that at first they said there was Highwaymen in the roads about and that afterwards a person from Chester knew you & discovered it to every body I hope they wont dare to say any thing to my Lord as he has not said a word or even named you, & he has been at Halkin, Mr. Gros—r leaves us tomorrow and on Wednesday we go to Mrs. H——— where I hope to receive your dear letter———I'm miserable in having any thing



to tell you that can give you the least uneasiness, it vexes me more than any thing I feel myself, what do you think about it, Pray my dear Soul do either way you think best & I hope as we have been tolerably fortunate hitherto we may scramble thro' it somehow or other, but I dont know what to say what to advise but I'm sure you can judge much better than me pray let me have a few lines in Lemon Duce by C—— to tell me, I wish I could find a Meathod for you to write in ink, I'll consider about it night & day, but I fear I cant but really I make out the Lemon Duce very well, we leave Mrs. H again on Friday, dont my dear Soul be alarmed about the Affair, if you think it better not to come we shall meet I hope not 3 weeks later, thank God for that he seems horridly tired of being here, & impatient to be in Town he sais he'd not be from London when the parliament meet for the world, & I hope will be there some days before, he is not yet well so any how thank God we shant be very long as under tho' indeed while I say so, a day nay an hour appears Ten thousand years, but my Soul if you think you can come safely we'll settle every thing the best thats possible and we may perhaps do very well———O I dont know what to say, I say and unsay every minute———I long to see you and yet I would not do any thing that might be against our future meeting, in short I'd say no more for I scarcely know what I say my Dearest Soul think it over and I'm vastly in hopes every thing will be for the best & will happen well and fortunate at last, I am racked between to se my Dear Friend, and fear of being found out, but dont my life be uneasy, think it over and either way you determine will I dare say end well, I've told Carry you will write a Line to me by her in Lemon Duce,———how happy it is we come to Town so soon let us think of that———this Letter is to set at 6 in the morning by the post as I must send it down as soon as I can that my sitting up may not be particular & cause my Letter being suspected so I wont say much more but that I love you and always



60 Trial of his R. H. the Duke of CUMBERLAND,

shall my Dear Dear Friend, pray dont be vext about  
this affair ask Trusty what he thinks of it God bless  
you my Dearest Dear Soul

Ever with the most sincere affection

Yours H————

We have gone on just as usual but to day we had a  
heap of men to dine here Sir W: Williams stays all  
night Mr. G————r goes off in the Morning, Fare-  
well once more my Dearest Friend dont pray be unea-  
sy I intreat you my Soul

Je vous etimmerois  
etternement tres cherre est adorable Amine

What Joy will it be to me when I  
can see my Dear Soul

Bon Soir

*The above Letter was inclosed in a Cover directed  
to the D— of C————.*

### L E T T E R XIII.

My dearest Sister

Tuesday night 5

YOUR last letter I must own my dear little Carry  
make me very uneasy as I was very plain you was in-  
low Sperritts, & I'm afraid indeed not well, I am sure  
I love you too well to risque running you into any  
scrape therefore if there is the least Appearance of it  
I wd not give any Chance of it for the World. the  
report you know my love is very false therefore that  
particular dont make me uneasy as it will be proved to  
the contrary by seeing we live together, it was some  
spiteful person raised it maliciously and very sillyly  
indeed As the whole world must see the contrary,  
Mama's mentioning it in a serious style to you was  
very ridiculous as she knows we are living together  
here & it may be of some use both with regard to her  
& the World in general as they will se false reports  
rais'd, if you remember there was exactly the same re-  
port raised of Ly Barrymore about the time she was  
at Bath, the people seeing that false (& I remember  
myself for one) said we imagined every thing else was



so & I assure you my dearest Carry I propose behaving in such a manner as will be quite proper & clever when I come to Town which I hope will be very soon; and I shall tell you all my plans when I have the happiness of seeing you— Mama's behaviour to you & speaking to you in that manner I do assure you hurts me much more than any thing in regard to myself; how little Mama's friendship is worth having when she is turned and wound about every different way by a little flattery if she was my friend to day & abused my enemy, if to morrow they falsely told her they lov'd her by way of emposing upon her, & getting her to their sides she would still be more inveterate against me than she had been against them——I have been very ill used in the World & those that have profess'd themselves my friend have generally acted to me in this style, you my Dear Carry have been a real friend, & I shall ever acknowledge it with my last Breath, & ever be sincere to you, I only wish it may ever be in my power to serve you I would be happy beyond measure to prove it to you indeed I would, I am capable of sincere friendship, I've only my own word for it now, but will prove it with joy & thankfully if fortune will but let me——my poor Friend indeed has taken almost terrible Journey and only just seen me twice, they are very prudent & told me the 2d time, they should set out immediately for fear of danger, You see by this means my love it was impossible for me to write as I did not know it till then, and you know that in the place I saw them it was impossible to write, or indeed my Dear I should not have been so ungratefull not to have wrote as I promised & answered yours—my dear I am very low spiretted I wish I could have a fly over to you & talk every thing over and I do believe we shou'd make one another easier, when you know how I propose to act—I wd not have you indeed send any more to S—ros as your Servants seem to suspect & be so cross about, for I wou'd not have you run a risk for me for the World. If I had had an idea of it I wou'd not  
have



have ever ask'd you, but I thought by one way or other either happening to call or send as it was only now and then it wd not be suspected, but as they once begin to think, its much better to do it no more, I desired my Friend to send Satterday Morning for this & to send one to you as I thought that way would be safe & I'm to send another for them to send for on Thursday sev night, unless you think it will be dangerous if so let me know & I'll never send again, but contrive some way just for one more or so which will be all I shall have occasion to write before I set out just to let them know the day we set out for we shall set out I do believe & hope in less than three Weeks for he said to day he did not believe he shod stay so long as he at first thought which was against the Meeting of Parliament so may be we may set out in a Fortnight he seems horridly tir'd of this place & is fidgeting for ever into Wales &c he sets out for Wales to morrow & only came back from there sunday so I hope it cannot possibly be long now before I shall see my dear little Carry again don't be low my dear Love I'm afraid you'll make yourself ill, I wish to G'd you had a little Country air—never mind what any of them says nor let them vex you I've a vast good plan to tell you of; so if people don't change their Note this Winter, I know you are laughing and think I am only building Castles in the air, but see if you dont find it as I say I assure you you will—I'm quite uneasy about my Friend I dont think them well—Iv advis'd them to go into publick as aint you of my mind that it would appear too particular for them just to come out when I come to Town & they think so too, well God blefs you my Ld is come home so I must not say much more at present but you shall hear again from me very soon, I think what you say in regard to Billy may do very well I'll try when I come to town by hints as you say pushing the Preferment Ah a Wheel within a Wheel, I'd lay any thing some of the Gros—rs have been at Mama canting the Devil take such deceit and old about your going out with me  
never



never mind she cant prove any thing dont be frightened for thats impossible let her suspicions be what they will, for she is very credulous in every Gosops Story  
 ————Adieu my Dear Soul forgive the writing nonsense and be merry pray, I've many things to make you laugh about when I see you and believe me ever most

sincerely & affecty Yrs

H: G——

Robin for ever talks of you  
 he and Dicky send their loves  
 he has been drinking Aunt  
 Tarralilines health just now

*The foregoing Letter, and that directed to the D—  
 of C——, were inclosed in a Cover directed by Lord  
 Grosvenor, as follows:*

To the Honble

Miss Vernon

Free

St. James's Palace

Grosvenor

London

# L E T T E R XIV..

My Dearest Soul,

Tuesday Evening 5th

MOST sincerely unhappy I've felt ever since we parted, both in having lost your dear Company which is so great a happiness to me, and in the thought of the cold dreadful Journey you have had indeed I've been miserable about you, I'm afraid you are scarcely arrived yet, I've not heard any news at all about you but I've been very low spired ever since tho I've hid it as much as in my power, I dont know to express my gratitude to you for the constant proofs you give me of the sincerity of your affection, I'm sure all the trouble you have taken only just to see me thoroughly convinces me of it you say all the return you desire is my affection and Friendship indeed you have them most sincerely, my heart is always with you indeed it is my dearest Friend——they came home sunday to dinner he was here a little before the rest he came on horseback as he rode part of the



the way I grew in a fright least as he rode he might have come to shorten the way through the fields & met you, but hoped as he did not arrive till nearish 3 that you was got to where you dined first, to day they are gone to Chester to dinner, and to morrow I beleive they set out for Wales again for 2 days I wish we had known it before hand & may be we might have contrived to have made some use of it but perhaps it may in the end be better as it is, I hope I shall have the happiness of hearing from you & if he is in Wales I shall endeavour to catch my letter before he comes—I hope C wont make any objections to receiving & sending the letters by the means you propose of sending Trusty to her, if she does pray let me know & I'll be sure to find a method of writing to you, & I'll tear my brains to pieces but I'll find some way of hearing once or twice from you while we are here I thank God I dont beleive it will be long for he has been talking to day of setting out & sais he believes he shall go before he at first thought of which was against the meeting of Parliament, as I am in vast hopes he will fix the day soon, and I will immediately write you word when I know, as soon as I hear from you and C——— and find if I may write again by her I will take the first moment any how if I dont hear to the contrary from C——— I'll write the beginning of next Week that if you send on Thursday sevenight it will be at C——ys I shall be sure to find some opportunity as I dare say he will not be long together at home———while I feel it so cold I'm in pain and Misery for you good God in those post Chaises how starving it must be I'm so in fear it shou'd hurt your breast, do take care of yourself pray my Dear Dear Friend and if you aint quite well pray take some advise, dont take it ill my plaguing you so but realy I love you so much I cant help wishing you to take more care of your health.

he seems in a tolerable humour not much one way nor other but still drinks toast & water and very little wine he had a little weazing  
last



last night, I suppose dining out to day wont do him much good he saïs as the weather is so cold he could get off his busine's in Wales, but I realy believe he is very glad of any excuse to carry him there as he dont seem to know what to with himself at home.

I do believe & hope there is no suspicions about you, & indeed tho painful I'm sure to both of us I really beleive it was the most prudent thing posible to go before people talked or began to suspect; nothing here has happened worth relating, I've Breakfast'd din'd & sup't gone to bed & rise at the same hour as usual but we Rehearst our play in my Room the other night, I fancy it will be done middling well its a most horrid play but they will have it, I must act both the womens characters we are not to have the general Rehearsal in the Playhouse till Monday evening—indeed my dear soul you are very prudent in intending to go a little in publick before I come to town, it wou'd really look much too particular just to come out then & might cause remarks which possibly might be conveyed to my L<sup>d</sup>. & every thing of that sort might rouse him & make him more and more observant to prevent our Meetings, and the best thing we can possibly do now is to make him beleive it is all over between us, and we have really I beleive blinded him for some time at least he has no proof about us, & I hope to God that by degrees his suspicions will be lull'd & then we may form some plans for our meeting happily we must not despair but look forwards that is the only way to support ourselves under our present unhappy situation & there is probability of many things happening to mend the present, so we think like Philosophers & beleive every thing is for the best & hope we may enjoy better days soon, & indeed I think it very probable my dearest & dear Soul with this idea be happy, if I knew you were so I shou'd be more than half way to it, as I afsure you what concerns you is more to me than my own feelings upon any thing. God forbid there should be a Warr if you go what then remains for me but misery, dont lets think



think on that, no, its wrong, one must not meet misfortunes, but how can I talk so, I'm sure that is not adopting the Style I before proposed to look forward for better times—— I shall long to hear from you my dear life, indeed I do, I am afraid you had a miserable Journey indeed, I hope C———will manage our letters as you send, if she wont dont be uneasy I'll certainly contrive some other means to write and to hear from you—I shall write to C——— as soon as I've done this & persuade her all I can, I really think no body can suspect any thing as you said—so if you send to her the Thursday after you get this you'll find another from me, I think I have better now conclude and write my letter to C——— as I imagine he will come home pretty soon, or I cou'd write to you for ever, indeed my dearest Soul I could tire you to death with nonsense—I shall only now add what I have often said to you my Dearest Friend, that you may ever be assured of my tenderest and sincere affections & that I shall ever remain in the truest sense of the expression

Yrs Most Faithfully & Affectionately

You have thoro'ly convinced me of your regard for me which I prise above all things & can never thank you enough for the proofs you have given me of your Love.

*The foregoing Letter was inclosed in a Cover, directed*

To

The D of C

*In the Cover was written as follows :*

Pray my dear do tell my poor Friend Foulkes I very sincerely condole with him & advise him to mind the old people if he loves her and she loves him to persuade her to run away with him, it will be delightfull, I wish to Goodness they wou'd

L E T.



L E T T E R XV.

My Dearest Carry

Eaton.—Saturday

HOW do you do I'm in constant Expectation of a Letter from you, & hope it will arrive to morrow Morning, I long to hear you are in better Spirits, & my Friend well, thank God I shall have the Happiness of seeing you very soon my Lord sets out next Wednesday he goes to Newmarkett in his Way, I shall set out about Monday or Tuesday Sevenight and to be in Town the end of the week, as I come flow with the children, I hope I shall see my dear little Carry as soon as I arrive, I shall send to your Lodgings immediately and hope you'll be able to come to me, I shant tell Mama exactly when I come, I shall say the End of the week towards the Sunday, because I must see you first, & if she knows she will come and spoil all our Comfort, I'm in great Anxiety to see poor dear Mrs Hill before we go, but I sadly fear I shant, but I have some hopes they may be able to come before we set out, at least before I do-----we have got our Play Lethce quite up, and are to Act it on Tuesday Evening in the Playhouse litt up, & all in Order, I do both the Womens Characters, I dont much relish them, but they Are pretty easy, I shall have no trouble with them & we have some very good Actors, & I beleive it will be altogether very well acted we have had many Rehersals, and we are to Rehearse Monday & Tuesday Morning in the Play house to be quite perfect against the Evening, we have Rehearst in the Play house once or twice, we are to have an Orchastre of musick, and Company to see us Teusday & if Toms who is one of our Actors dont set out with my L<sup>d</sup> on Wednesday we shall act every Evening till we set out, my L<sup>d</sup>. is going presently to dine at Chester to day and the Gentlemen who are here, I hope Almacks was agreable & how was the Ball at Court, I hope you got up your Sperritts & enjoy'd it, I hope you got my last letter safe,——my little Boys are very well & send their loves to Aunt Tara-

VOL. II. G liline



liline, I ride out almost every day as the Weather is very fine, and it always agrees vastly with me, I often wish you of my party, I've a very pleasant Chare that goes very pleasantly & I Gallop very hard some times, I shall be very happy to hear from you before I set out, but I cannot be sure of receiving it, if you write later than Friday Night so do if you can write on Thursday, & make a cross under the Seal as otherwise I maint get it, if you do that I shall be sure of it, if you cant write before Friday to write then as the Post will bring it in the Morning I set out, & earlyer then we shall be gone, so that w' do if you cant on Thursday my Ld is but now set out for Chester which is the Reason that in the former Part of my Letter I cd say nothing, but as it was late was forc'd to begin for fear it shoud be too late for the Post, and dared say nothing but what he might see, for fear he sho'd come up, the Post goes out at half past Two, it's now within a quarter of the Time it must go, & I've my Friends to write wch I shall do, & how happy I am I shall se you so soon do come to me as soon as ever I arrive what a vast deal of Talk I shall have, if you can write to me Wednesday Thursday or Friday do pray, & you may say any thing and my Friend may write in Ink it will be sure to come safe as nothing will prevent his setting out on Wednesday as he has particular Business at Newmarket I beleive he will be in Town for a day first, if he should even be taken ill or such unforeseen Accidents happen, I'll meet the Post Boy in the Lane pray remember to put a cross under the Seal, every thing has gone of well not a Creature have I heard a word from, & he is in very tollerable Humour, Farewell my Dear, I have not Time to say more I fear it must be too late, but if so there is another Post at six in the Morning so Adieu & Beleive me my Dearest Carry

Yrs with the most sincere  
Affection.

I hope



For Adultery with Lady GROSVENOR. 69

I hope the way my Friend takes of sending Trusty as its only for twice wont be disagreeable to you my Love or suspected we thought it w'd be much the safest Way

ever my Dear Soul.

Y<sup>r</sup> most faithfully

Pray burn all my Letters  
how does Mama behave

O dear how can you get this to him, as I quite forgot he was not to send Trusty to you till Thursday, I wd not loose this Opportunity for I cannot write then he will be at home, but on Wednesday as soon as he is gone I'll write to you as I can then tell you exactly the Day I'm off & you'll get that Friday Night or Satt. Morning what can be done I dout he wont have it in time to write on Wednesday on Thursday, I fear you cant send it Once more dear Soul

Dec. 9. 1769.

Adieu

## L E T T E R XVI.

My Dearest Soul

Satterday Evening

I'M in constant hopes of C—— sending me a Letter from you, & I'm very anxious to hear you are arriv'd safe, I imagine & hope it will come to-morrow thank God I've some delightfull News to tell you my Ld sett's out for London next Wednesday & I the Monday or Tuesday after I come slow up as I came down he said he desir'd I stay till then as he shou'd only stay one Day in Town and then go to Newmarket, I wish to God I c'd have been in Town that while but however its delightfull as it is, as I shall certainly be in Town the End of the Week after this, I shall see my Dear Friend in about ten Days after you receive this how happy I am and only think he said Yesterday he had so many Horses & so much to do at Newmarket, he believ'd he s'd go there every fortnight I'll write C—— word as soon as my Ld is sett out on Wednesday (as then every thing will be fixed)



& the Day we sett out, & on the Road, I'll write her Word which Day I shall be in Town and enclose both Times a Letter for you If she does not between this & then prevent me, If she is against it we must not mind we shall meet soon & as soon as I come to Town I certainly will send you a Note by some Means or other and fix some where if possible for us to meet, it already appears to me an Age since I've seen my dear Friend I've desir'd C— to write to me as soon as she can after receiving my Letter, and enclose one if you send her one for me, I hope she will send you this as she will receive it Tuesday and not stay till Thursday when you was to send to her, I was determin'd not to lose the first Opportunity to write so write now instead of Tuesday as I intended so if C—— sends you this dont send to her on Thursday but on Saturday as the letter I'm to write to her on Wednesday after he goes wont be in London till Friday Night or Saturday Morning—I fear you cannot read this but I'm writing poast as I fear this will too late for the poast,—every thing goes on well I've not heard a Word of any Suspicion of ——— & he is in very tollerable Humour—our play is to be perform'd in Order on Tuesday Evening and we are to have a few people to see us—I ride ev'ry Day I've seen no body but our usual Sort of Company since you went I'm to have some Ladies of our Neighbourhood on Tuesday—If C— absolutely refuses to send any more Letters I will still write her word & you may by Accidentally seeing her find out exactly the day as I shall write her Word when we shall sett out and when arrive in Town I fear this Letter will certainly be too late so must conclude my Dear Soul I do love you most Sincerely indeed I'm out of my Wiits wth Joy at the thoughts of seeing you my Dear Friend Beleave me ever most Sincerely & Affectionately Yrs

What a Scrawl I always write to you I'm really ashamed to a degree of myself my Dear Soul you must not write to me later than Friday as I shant get it but if you get this in Time



Time to write Wednesday Thursday or Friday you may write in Ink safely as he is sure to go on Wednesday shd any unforeseen Accident keep him which is totally improbable, I w'd meet the Post Boy in the Lane once more dearest Soul Farewell

*This letter was inclosed within the other in a cover directed by the Right Hon. Lord Grosvenor,*

To

Free The Honble Miss Vernon  
Grosvenor St. James's Palace London

# L E T T E R XVII.

My Ly

I MET my Ld Sr Thomas & Mr Taylor on the road from London & suppose your Ladyship will not be long here for my part I hope to be gone from hence soon I hope to have the honour to pay my duty before I leave this part of the world, I am quite lost here

If your Ladyship should have any Commands I shall be at my old Lodgings every day about twelve and one o'clock

from your Ladyship's most obedt  
& most humble servt

Friday Dec 15 1769

R. Trusty

# L E T T E R XVIII.

My Dear Sister St James's Dec 15th 1769

I Recd your Letter last Wednesday, I think by the date I ought to have had it sooner but however I am sorry to say that it comes time enough for any pleasure I had in receiving it, I am only sorry it did not come sooner that I might have answer'd it before now but the reason that hindered me answering it before this, I had company with me on Wednesday and on Thursday the going to the Court & the play hurried me so much that I had not half a minute to breath, but I take the first opportunity of writing to you indeed my Dear I thought I never should have



reason to say I had not pleasure in hearing from you but the *Cause* not only angered me extremely but gave me a shock which I cannot easily recover as to myself I am hardly sensible of what I write as I can not explain what I have suffered within this little while & was plunged into the deepest Affliction when I recd yours I was shockt for 2 reasons the one was I had always flattered myself that your Affection for me was too great ever to be got the better of by any blind passion & that the doing me any essential hurt wou'd have the same effect on you as it wou'd on me in that Case Viz make you miserable but I am wretcheded to find that a passion for a certain person wrongly entitled to it as so much got the better of you that the loss of your own reputation *mine* & both our happinesses are to you of no consequence & cou'd my simple advice be of any service to you I wou'd implore you on my knees nay serve you as a slave night & day that you wou'd for ever banish from your thoughts them whom you stile your friend for I know that if you dont do that the rest of your Life is destined to be wretcheded not only the bitter pangs of the whole world being against you but you must be banished from all your Relations who dearly love you by reason of this (in the first place I will begin with Mrs Hill) as you are sensible of Mr. Hill's disposition you may be sure that if the world dont cease their shocking descriptions of your proceedings he will not suffer his wife to be seen in your company as he will give this for reason that altho' he believes you to be *virtuous* yet as *nobody* else thinks it, that it will be equally disadvantageous to Mrs H to be seen in intimacy with you & as to myself, Mama will take care to keep me from ever having a sight of you, indeed if the scale was already turned with regard to your Conduct I believe I shall never be so much with you as I have been & as you must be sensible how much I love you you must know that this to me is a dreadful, I am in Affliction not to be described you will may be think I make the worst of things but I assure you so far from it I make the best.



Best. Mama I find is really miserable about this—  
 She & me have been at Varience for some time, she  
 was on Wednesday Morning with Miss Keck and told  
 her every thing I have wrote a letter to her to day &  
 hope that will be the occasion of a reconciliation as it  
 is necessary to keep well with her now, or god knows I  
 shall then have no Chance I find the Queen and Princess  
 of Wales have heard me censured in this curs'd Affair  
 & speaks with Anger about me I have this moment  
 been hearing a story now about town that you and I  
 in the Summer walkt in Kensington Gardens attended  
 by the Dke of Cumd and that he brought an officer  
 with him, that you and I parted company he walked  
 one way with You and the Officer and I another. But  
 what is worse I have enelosed a paragraph that was  
 in the News Papers to Day from which you will learn  
 how scandalously you are talked of, it frights me to  
 Death, as to what you inelosed in your last I have got  
 it for you when you come to Town, for I acquainted  
 your friend long ago that if any thing came of either  
 side for me to convey I would burn it. I am watch'd  
 every time I stir, and think how necessary it is for  
 me to put a stop to this misery (you talk of Trusty  
 who is as well known as yourself) In short I have  
 things to tell you when I see you that will make you  
 if you have a grain of discretion miserable. I *frankly*  
 tell you absolutely let me never hear any thing more  
 concerning your Friend, as to my being your *Bearer*  
 any longer I will not. I wish very much for your  
 coming to Town as that is the only thing to appease  
 the wicked world the seeing you and your Lord living  
 amicably together

Believe me in haste  
 with greatest affection  
 Your sincere but most wretched of Sisters  
 C. V.

Pray let me hear from you before you set out, and  
 as soon as you come let me see your for I have thou-  
 sands of things to say--adieu -my love to the dear boys.

To  
 Lady Grosvenor

The



The evidences were then called ; the reverend Mr. Taylor proved the marriage of Lord Grosvenor and Miss Henrietta Vernon on July 19th 1764.

*But as all the Witnesses were also examined in the suit at the Doctor's Commons, where their Evidence was accurately taken down, we shall only give here some of the most striking circumstances, and refer the reader to the suit in the Commons which immediately follows after this.*

Elizabeth Sutton, servant to the countess d'Onhoff, deposed to lady Grosvenor and his royal highness being together alone, in a room where there was a couch, at the countess's. She described the duke as a fair gentleman with large eyes, and a scar on his cheek.

John Bourne, servant to the countess d'Onhoff, had been employed by his royal highness to carry a letter to lady Grosvenor as if it came from the countess, and to bring an answer. The letter was directed to the countess, but was to be given to lady Grosvenor, and Bourne was not to tell the countess he carried such a letter. For this service his royal highness gave Bourne half a guinea.

Dennison, one of lady Grosvenor's footmen, deposed, that lady Grosvenor when at Eaton used to walk out in the fields in very dirty weather ; that going to deliver a message to lady Grosvenor in the fields he saw a man, whom he thought was the duke of Cumberland, sitting down with her, or lying down, he could not tell which. That at St. Alban's, on the 21st of December, when they burst open lady Grosvenor's bedchamber door, the duke was buttoning his whitecoat, and lady Grosvenor's neck was open ; the duke was very much confused, and stood like a statue, and said, "Gentlemen, I hope you wont hurt me ; I hope you wont do me any harm." The duke went into an adjoining room, and then said, "you see, gentlemen, I am not in the lady's room." Mr. Stephens replied, "I see you are not now, but you was there." To this the duke answered, "I will take MY BIBLE OATH I was not there." The duke



duke had on a darkish coloured coat, a light coloured waistcoat, whitish breeches and stockings, a silk handkerchief about his neck, and a black wig.

Bennet, one of lord Grosvenor's servants, said they were one or two minutes in breaking open the door, that the duke was buttoning his waistcoat, that he saw lady Grosvenor's breasts all bare; that the duke put his two hands together, and said, he would take his Bible Oath he was not in lady Grosvenor's room. The bed was tumbled, and the bed clothes turned down.

Matthew Stephens, said the door broke at the hinges, he had expected it would give way at the lock, that in assisting lady Grosvenor to get up, she said, "*you thief, you have done a very fine thing.*" His royal highness expressed a great deal of fear and horror, and seemed apprehensive of danger to his person; that on assuring him his person was perfectly safe, he seemed a little easier. The bed was tumbled as much as a bed could be. There was a dent like the impression of a head on the farthest side of the bed.

Mr. Dunning made a very long speech, and endeavoured to explain away the amorous expressions in the letters, and to invalidate the evidence.

Evidence was called to prove the bed not so much disordered as had been represented; one evidence, Sarah Gilby, had signed a paper that the bed was much tumbled, but she did not hold to it on her examination.

Then evidence was called to prove that lord Grosvenor had violated the rights of marriage, which Mr. Skynner hoped would extenuate or apologise for the conduct of lady Grosvenor.

Mrs. Beau Germaine said she had had a child by lord Grosvenor, in April 1769.

Mary Howe was introduced to lord Grosvenor in May 1768, at Mrs. Leslie's house in Glastonbury-court, Long-acre, where she lay with him twice on different days.

Mr.



Mr. Wedderburn made a long reply to the defense and recrimination made by Mr. Dunning, and in one part of it raised a great laugh, by saying, that however aggravating the circumstances were, they could not charge his royal highness with intriguing merely for the sake of intrigue, as *the incoherency* of his letters plainly proved him to be really a lover : after which, lord Mansfield with his usual clearness and impartiality summed up the evidence, during which he quoted the cases of Cibber and Mr. Dormer given in our first volume.

The jury were inclosed two hours, and at ten at night set out for lord Mansfield's house in Bloomsbury square, where they gave in their verdict for the plaintiff, lord Grosvenor, with TEN THOUSAND POUNDS DAMAGES.



TRIAL OF THE

Rt. Hon. HENRIETTA Lady GROSVENOR,  
WIFE OF RICHARD Lord GROSVENOR ;

For ADULTERY with

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

HENRY FREDERICK Duke of CUMBERLAND,

IN THE

Consistory COURT of the Lord BISHOP of LONDON,  
At DOCTOR'S COMMONS.

With the Recriminating EVIDENCE on behalf of her Ladyship.

*The Libel was given in the 1st of March, 1770: And*

*The Allegations of Lady Grosvenor the 1st of December, 1770*

THE libel stated that on the 19th day of July 1764 lord Grosvenor of the age of thirty years was married to Miss Henrietta Vernon eldest daughter of Henry Vernon of Hilton in the county of Stafford Esq. then a spinster of the age of eighteen, by the Reverend George Taylor.

That in March 1767 she was delivered of a son, begotten on her body by lord Grosvenor her husband and in June 1769 of another also begotten on her body by lord Grosvenor. That lady Grosvenor contracted and carried on a lewd and adulterous conversation with his royal highness the duke of Cumberland and she and his royal highness frequently had the carnal use and knowledge of each others bodies, and committed the foul crime of adultery together; that since June 1769 lord Grosvenor had not lain in the same bed, nor had the carnal use or knowledge of the body of lady Grosvenor, having in that month, during her lying in, discovered her adulterous connection with the duke of Cumberland.

*The*



*The first Evidence in this cause was the countess of d'Onhoff.* This lady was a daughter of the late earl of Tankerville, and had been married to a polish nobleman.

The right honourable Camilla lady d'Onhoff, of Quebec street, Oxford road, in the county of Middlesex, widow, aged twenty three years, deposes and says, that for between three and four years last past she hath known and been well acquainted with the right honourable Richard lord Grosvenor, and the right honourable Henrietta lady Grosvenor, his wife parties in this cause; and during the said time she was very intimate with lady Grosvenor; she further saith, that she hath frequently been in company with lady Grosvenor at Ranelagh, and at Almack's, and other public places, where they have been joined company by his royal highness Henry Frederick duke of Cumberland, and his highness hath conversed with them, and handed lady Grosvenor to her coach or chair; that lady Grosvenor frequently visited at her house in Cavendish square; and some time in or about the month of March, 1769, lady Grosvenor several times visited at her house in Cavendish square, and was there met by his royal highness the duke of Cumberland several times; and the first time he came was much surprized, as she did not expect to see him; and the said lady Grosvenor pretended to this deponent that she wanted to talk with his highness respecting her brother William Vernon, who was in the navy, in order to make some interest with his highness for her said brother; she asked lady Grosvenor how she came to appoint the duke of Cumberland at her house, when she had a house of her own to see what company she pleased; and she so told the deponent as a reason why the duke of Cumberland did not come to her house, that his highness and lord Grosvenor had had a little dispute together; in an evening some time in or about the month of April or May, 1769, lady Grosvenor and the duke of Cumberland were at the deponent's house in Cavendish square, and lady Grosvenor desired



fired the deponent to leave the room for some time, giving as a reason, that she wanted to speak to the duke about her brother: and this deponent retired into another room upon the same floor, and staid alone for about half an hour, when she went again into the room where she had left lady Grosvenor and the duke of Cumberland together: and this deponent then and there saw lady Grosvenor lying upon her back upon a couch in the deponent's dining room, with her petticoats up, and the duke of Cumberland's breeches were unbuttoned, and he was laying upon the said lady Grosvenor, and his body was in motion, and he and lady Grosvenor were at such time in the very act of carnal copulation, and at such time his royal highness committed adultery with lady Grosvenor; and his highness cursed and swore at the deponent, and she left the room, and the deponent continued alone in such back-room; and the duke of Cumberland and lady Grosvenor staid together in the dining-room for about two hours, and then they went away, the duke going first, and lady Grosvenor after him; and this deponent, for her own justification, on her oath, faith, that such meeting at her house was not with the privity or contrivance of this deponent, but appeared to her as the effect of mere accident: that in a few days afterwards, lady Grosvenor and the duke of Cumberland met again at the deponent's house several times, and at one of the said times lady Grosvenor was talking to the duke of Cumberland about lord Grosvenor, and in her conversation with his highness she said, I will take another opportunity of telling you; and the deponent thereupon observing to herself that lady Grosvenor was about telling his highness something of lord Grosvenor, that she did not wish the deponent to hear, she thereupon got up, and said to lady Grosvenor, that she would go into the next room for a minute or two; and the deponent went into the next room, and staid there for about a quarter of an hour, and the deponent returned into such room where she had left lady Grosvenor and the duke together,



gether, in order to get a work-bag that laid upon the table, and the deponent was then as much surprized as she was before, as lady Grosvenor had promised that nothing further should pass in the deponent's house, and the said lady Grosvenor was then laying on her back upon the aforesaid couch, with her petticoats up, and the duke of Cumberland's breeches were unbuttoned, and he was then laying upon the said lady Grosvenor, and his body was in motion; and lady Grosvenor and the duke of Cumberland were then in the very act of carnal copulation, and committed the crime of adultery together; that, previous to the month of June, 1769, and the time more particularly she cannot say, lady Grosvenor, about duskish in the evening, called upon this deponent, at her house in Cavendish square, and told her that she was going to see her sister Carry, meaning the honourable Carolina Vernon, her sister, one of the maids of honour to her Majesty, and she desired the deponent to go with her to see her, and this deponent went with her ladyship with that intent; that when her ladyship got to Miss Vernon's apartments, and the deponent was going in, she said, "Don't go in, I am going to the duke of Cumberland's;" at which the deponent was surprized, and she asked lady Grosvenor which way she should go? And lady Grosvenor said, that she should go in at the back-door in the park; and as they were going through a passage that leads from St. James's to St. James's park, they met the duke of Cumberland and captain Foulkes, one of his highness's equeries, and they all went together in at such back-door to the duke of Cumberland's house; and lady Grosvenor and the duke of Cumberland went together into a room, and left the deponent alone, the said captain going to Ranelagh: and this deponent, having sat alone a long time, and wanting a book or something from the other room, she went into such room, where his highness and lady Grosvenor were together, and lady Grosvenor was then laying upon her back upon a couch in such room, with her



her petticoats up, and his highness's breeches were unbuttoned, and his highness was then laying upon her, and they were then in the very act of carnal copulation, and committed adultery together; that she was frequently afterwards, by notes from lady Grosvenor and the duke of Cumberland, requested to go with her to the duke of Cumberland, and to let them meet together at her house; but this deponent refused the same.

Lady d'Onhoff also deposed to the letters being in the hand writing of his royal highness, and of lady Grosvenor. (*For these letters see page 42 to page 73 of this volume.*)

William Pratt, of Towcester, in the county of Northampton, innholder, aged forty years, deposes and says, that, towards Michaelmas last, on a Tuesday, and market day at Towcester, three persons, then entire strangers to this deponent, came to his house at Towcester and were shewn into a room; and when he went into the room to wait upon them, observed three pair of new saddle-bags, which the deponent believes and is convinced belonged to them, as they all came on horseback, and they all three appeared to this deponent to be in disguise: that one of the said persons he believes, was his royal highness Henry duke of Cumberland, having since seen his royal highness, whose features appear to be the same as one of the persons who so came disguised to his house; that the person whom he believes to be his royal highness was dressed in a brown great-coat, rather of an olive colour, which he kept buttoned and muffled so close, that the deponent could not distinguish whether he had his own hair or a wig, and his hat was pulled so low over his face, that he could only see his nose and cheeks; and this deponent, who waited upon them at dinner, heard the name of Farmer Jones mentioned; but who was spoke to, or meant thereby, he cannot now recollect. That they expected a farmer to meet them there, to pay some money, and that if he did not come, they must go off in the night; and this



deponent faith, that, from the appearance of the persons by him before-mentioned, this deponent and his wife formed an unfavourable opinion of them, *and suspected them to be sharpers*; and to prevent any ill consequences arising from such suspicions, the deponent's wife, and some of his servants, sat up till they went away, which was about twelve o'clock, in a post-chaise, leaving the other person who came with them, with the horses behind: and such persons, so disguised as aforesaid, in about a week or ten days afterwards, stopped at this deponent's house, attended by one person, in the way to London, appearing then to this deponent to have come from Chester, or that part of the country; and this deponent faith, that on the evening of the day that the said persons so first came to his house, rather before it was dark, lady Grosvenor, and her family, came to the deponent's house, and staid there all night; and the next morning, about ten or eleven o'clock, her ladyship and her family left the deponent's house; and went forward to Cheshire.

Robert Betton, under butler to lord Grosvenor, aged twenty-seven years, deposes and says, that, on a Thursday, happening in December last, the day of the month he cannot recollect, in the evening, between five and six o'clock, lady Grosvenor and her family, attended by this deponent and other servants, arrived at the White-hart inn at St. Albans, in the county of Hertford, on her way from his lordship's seat in Cheshire to London; and between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, this deponent and two other of his lordship's servants being then in bed in the same room, were called up by Mr. Matthew Stephens, his lordship's butler and house-steward; and this deponent, from the conversation that passed in his lordship's family, and the suspicions they had entertained of some connection between their lady and his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, this deponent was struck with the thoughts of something happening at that time between them; and he and the other two



servants got up, and attended Mathew Stephens and his brother John Stephens, and one John Anderton, another of his lordship's servants, to the door of the bed-chamber where lady Grosvenor was supposed to be, and this deponent heard two voices in such room, but could not distinguish whose voices they were, as the sound of the voices were like a whisper from one to the other; and this deponent saith, that the said door of the bed-chamber was broke open by the assistance of this deponent, and, upon the door being opened, this deponent saw lady Grosvenor and the duke of Cumberland, whom this deponent well knew, having very frequently seen him before, somewhere about the middle of the room; and lady Grosvenor attempted to go out of another door from the bed-chamber, which she was in, which led to another room, and as she was going she fell down two or three steps; and she was dressed in a jesuit dress, which buttons up close to the neck, and is a kind of dress which this deponent saith will never appear much tumbled; but lady Grosvenor upon their entering the room, was buttoning up the upper part of the said dress about her neck; and the duke of Cumberland was dressed in a dark brown coat, with a light-coloured waistcoat, rather whitish, which he seemed to be buttoning on their entrance, and then had no great-coat on, as he now best remembers: and his royal highness appeared to be a great deal confused; and had also a dark brown wig, with a top to it, commonly called a tyburn-top, which comes over the forehead, and down towards the eyes; and his royal highness said, that he was not in lady Grosvenor's bed-chamber, but that he came to her assistance, upon hearing a noise at her chamber-door, and *that he would take his bible oath that he was not in her ladyship's bed-chamber* at the time the noise was first at the door; and his royal highness seemed much alarmed upon Matthew Stephens saying, when he was going to assist lady Grosvenor upon her fall, to this deponent and the other servants, "Don't let the gentleman go," meaning his said



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royal highness, “ till he had spoke with him :” and this deponent saith, that his royal highness asked them if they knew who he was ? And they answered, his royal highness the duke of Cumberland ; to which he made no reply ; and he further saith, that he did observe the bed in the room in which his royal highness and lady Grosvenor were caught together to be very much tumbled, from top to bottom, in a very extraordinary manner, all the bed-cloaths being much rumpled ; and the said Matthew Stephens called the maid up, who declared before lady Grosvenor and his royal highness, in the presence of the deponent and other servants, that the bed was as strait and as smooth as hands could make it when she left lady Grosvenor in the bed-chamber, and had warmed the bed ; and by reason thereof, and of the several circumstances by him before-mentioned, this deponent does verily believe, that the duke of Cumberland and lady Grosvenor had been upon the said bed in the room in which they so found them together, and that his royal highness had then had the carnal use and knowledge of her body, and committed the crime of adultery with her.

Charles Cock, second coachman to lord Grosvenor, aged twenty-four years, deposes and says, that from about the spring of last year, to the end of October following, when lord and lady Grosvenor went into the country, he used generally to drive lady Grosvenor in the coach of an evening to public and other places, and now and then of a morning, when both carriages were used ; and she very frequently in the course of the summer used to go to Vauxhall, when her ladyship's coach and the duke of Cumberland's coach used generally to stand together, and drew up at the same time when they went away, his said royal highness handing lady Grosvenor into her coach, and getting into his own, and so following her ladyship ; and this deponent remembers, that once, when he was going to Vauxhall, the duke of Cumberland met them, he appearing to be coming back from Vauxhall, but his

royal



royal highness's servants immediately put out the flam-  
beaux, and his highness's coach turned about and  
followed lady Grosvenor's coach to Vauxhall; and  
this deponent did not himself suppose or suspect that  
any thing was going on between his highness and lady  
Grosvenor, till that circumstance happened, which  
he thought extraordinary; and this deponent frequent-  
ly drove lady Grosvenor to Kensington gardens,  
Ranelagh, and Almack's in Pall-mall; and at all  
those places, except Kensington gardens, the depo-  
nent generally saw his royal highness's coach, and  
the two coaches used generally to stand together, ex-  
cept at Ranelagh: and the deponent remembers going  
to Marybone gardens, some time he believes in the  
month of May, when his royal highness was there,  
and handed her ladyship and the countess d'Onhoff,  
who was with her ladyship, into the coach, and lady  
Grosvenor and his royal highness generally met at  
some public place or other almost every other day:  
and his coachman at public places used to say to this  
deponent, when he was behind lady Grosvenor's  
coach, that he must now draw up, for that he should  
follow them he knew, that he several times drove lady  
Grosvenor to the house of Mrs. Reda, a milliner, in  
Pall-mall; remembers going there with her ladyship  
in the afternoon of the King's birth-day, the fourth  
of June, with the countess d'Onhoff, and her lady-  
ship continued there for about two hours; that he  
afterwards went with her ladyship to Mr. Scarbo-  
rough's, perfumer, in Pall-mall, who is perfumer to  
his royal highness, and lives opposite to his house;  
that he so drove her ladyship there sometimes three or  
four times a day, and very frequently saw his roya-  
highness, whom the deponent very well knows, at  
his window in his own house; and this deponent, both  
morning and evening, very frequently drove lady  
Grosvenor to the house of the countess d'Onhoff's, in  
Cavendish square, that, between the months of May  
and October last, he several times drove lady Gros-  
venor to Kensington gardens, sometimes her ladyship  
was



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was accompanied by her sister Miss Vernon, sometimes by the countess d'Ouhoff; and remembers twice to have seen the duke of Cumberland at Kensington gardens, when lady Grosvenor was there; he believes it was some time the latter end of the month of August last; that at such times he saw him get into a hackney-coach, and come away at the same time with her ladyship's coach.

Thomas Dennison, footman to lord Grosvenor, aged twenty-six years, deposes and says, that, in the month of April 1768, he went to live at lord Grosvenor's, that he continued till about Christmas as footman to his lordship, and from that time was footman to her ladyship, and that he is now in the service of lord Grosvenor; he constantly attended upon her ladyship at all places public and private; about the month of February, 1769, this deponent observed that there was an intimacy more than common between lady Grosvenor and his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, that lady Grosvenor, whenever she went to a public place, such as Vauxhall or Ranelagh, was generally met there by the duke of Cumberland, who constantly handed her ladyship to her carriage, and very frequently came away at the same time with her ladyship; hath attended upon her ladyship to Kensington gardens, Almack's, and other places, that his royal highness's servants and her ladyship's servants used generally to keep together, as they expected to be called about the same time, and seldom a day passed but his royal highness and lady Grosvenor met at some public place, or saw each other; lady Grosvenor almost daily going in her coach up Pall-mall, and his royal highness being very frequently at the window of his own house; and when he hath not happened to be at the window, the coach, with her ladyship in it, hath passed his highness's house six or seven times till he appeared at the window; her ladyship very frequently going into shops, as this deponent believes, merely as a pretence to return the same way again, and very frequently stopping at the house



of Mrs. Reda, a milliner, in Pall-mall, and sometimes going to Tavistock street, to some shops; and her ladyship, if the coachman offered to go a different way than by Pall-mall, either from home or to home, would pull the string and direct the coachman to go through Pall-mall. That lady Grosvenor after she got up from her lying in, which was about the month of June last, very frequently went to Kensington gardens, in the county of Middlesex, generally accompanied by her sister, the honourable Miss Caroline Vernon, one of the maids of honour to her Majesty, that she so went sometimes two or three days a week, and for some time left off going there, and then went again; and this deponent saith, that, in or about the month of September last, this deponent saw the duke of Cumberland come to Kensington gardens in a hackney-coach, and he was set down at the same gate in the palace yard where they had just before set down lady Grosvenor; that although he does not recollect having seen his royal highness there but once himself, yet he is satisfied and does believe that his highness was always there, because there was almost always, he believes always, a hackney coach in waiting; and being suspicious from what he had before seen and known as before-mentioned, used to enquire of the hackney-coachmen, and most of them said, that they knew his highness, that they had brought him there and waited to carry him back; that, at the times they were so at Kensington gardens, they frequently staid two or three hours; and sometimes the weather was very bad and it rained hard, and lady Grosvenor must have been, at such times, in the house or palace, for otherwise her ladyship must have been very wet, which this deponent never did observe. That lady Grosvenor's head-dress and her cloaths appeared very much tumbled and disordered, and her hair very much rumped and loose, at almost all the times when she returned to get into her coach for London; and the deponent thinks he remembers seeing her apron tore; and for the several reasons by  
him



him before-mentioned, he does verily believe, that at some, or one of the times, the said lady Grosvenor was at Kensington gardens, that the duke of Cumberland and lady Grosvenor had the carnal use and knowledge of each other's bodies, and committed the crime of adultery together in some of the apartments of the said palace of Kensington. That lady Grosvenor used very frequently to go to St. James's for the purpose, as this deponent first thought, to visit her sister Miss Caroline Vernon, one of the maids of honour to her Majesty, and who as such has apartments within the palace of St. James's; and this deponent saith, that in a week, happening in the month of April last, lady Grosvenor three or four times in that week, under pretence of going to visit her sister, actually went to meet the duke of Cumberland; that they used to go to St. James's about nine o'clock in the evening, and her ladyship used to order her coach about eleven o'clock to come and fetch her, and the deponent very well remembers that the coach being come, Edward Bennet, went to the said Miss Vernon's apartments to inform their lady that the coach was come, and they received for answer from the said Miss Vernon's servant, that her ladyship was not there, and had not been there that evening; and as they were coming away from Miss Vernon's apartments, this deponent saw lady Grosvenor come from the passage that leads to St. James's park; and lady Grosvenor seemed to be confused, he believes on account of seeing the deponent; that by reason of the intimacy he had so observed between his royal highness and lady Grosvenor, he did suspect that she had been to visit his highness; and this deponent determined to see where her ladyship went, and accordingly the next night, when lady Grosvenor went to St. James's, he did see and observe that, when she went into the court leading from St. James's gate-way, and where the guard is, she turned on her left-hand, which was the way to Miss Vernon's apartments, they being the second door on the left-hand on going in at the said gate at St.



St. James's; but she did not go into her sister's apartments, but crossed the court, and went on through the passage that leads into St. James's park; and when her ladyship got into the park, the deponent saw the duke of Cumberland, who appeared to be waiting there for her, come up and speak to her; and his highness conducted her, and the deponent saw them both together go in at the gate in St. James's park, which leads to his royal highness's gardens, and the gate was shut after them; and this deponent, in like manner, saw the duke of Cumberland and lady Grosvenor, at two or three other times, meet together in St. James's park, about nine o'clock in the evening, and the same way go into his highness's gardens, when her ladyship went, as was supposed, to visit the said Miss Vernon, her sister. That, about the latter end of the month of October last, lady Grosvenor and her family set off in the afternoon from London, for his lordship's house at Eaton, in Cheshire; that her ladyship's sister, Miss Caroline Vernon, was with her, and her ladyship was attended by Matthew Stephens, his lordship's house-steward, this deponent, and other servants, and her ladyship went that evening as far as St. Alban's, in the county of Hertford, and that night lay at the White Hart inn there. That lady Grosvenor was five days, or four days and a half, on her journey from London to his lordship's seat at Eaton, at other times when she went post, used to go from London to Eaton in two days and an half, or three days. That, in a day or two after lady Grosvenor arrived at his lordship's house at Eaton, in Cheshire, this deponent had occasion to deliver to her ladyship a message from some persons in the neighbourhood, who had sent to enquire after her ladyship and the children; and her ladyship not being within, the deponent went out into a field, which was the best part of a quarter of a mile from my lord's house, to deliver the message; and, as this deponent was in one field, he saw lady Grosvenor and a gentleman with her, getting up from the grass in another field, and such gentle-



gentleman went behind a tree to hide himself; she was absent from home two or three hours that morning; and, when her ladyship returned, her shoes and cloaths were very wet and dirty, the weather being bad, and there having been some rain; and this deponent saith, that such person whom he saw with lady Grosvenor in the field, was, as he verily believes, the duke of Cumberland, who had then on a dark-colour'd great-coat of the Bath kind, and a black or brown wig on; and lady Grosvenor used frequently, before my lord came down, to walk out of a morning, and once or twice she was out after it was dark in the evening, when the weather was but indifferent; and he believes, without it was for the purpose of seeing his royal highness, that her ladyship or any other person of her rank, would not have been walking and upon the grass in the way he saw her ladyship. To the exhibit or paper-writing marked with the letter L, he does verily believe that by the letters, "Sc—ws," appearing in the said exhibit marked L: was meant and intended Scarbrow, who is perfumer to the duke of Cumberland, and lives opposite to his highness's house in Pall-mall, because lady Grosvenor used to call there sometimes three or four times a day, and just get out of her coach and in again, and the deponent does believe that she went there for the purpose of receiving letters or messages, from his royal highness, because the said Scarbrow once ran after the coach, and delivered to lady Grosvenor something wrapped up in a paper which looked like a letter. That, between five and six o'clock in the evening of Thursday the twenty-first day of December last, lady Grosvenor and her family arrived at the White Hart inn in St. Alban's, in the county of Hertford; and this deponent saith, that about eleven o'clock at night he and two others of his lordship's servants, being then in bed, were called up by Matthew Stephens, his lordship's butler and house-steward; and upon this deponent's enquiring what was the matter, he was told by Mr. Stephens, that he had listened and

heard



heard somebody in lady Grosvenor's bed-chamber, whom they supposed was the duke of Cumberland, and that they had determined to break open the door; and accordingly this deponent, the said two other servants, Mr. Matthew Stephens, his brother, and John Anderton his lordship's groom, all assisted to break open the door, which they were some time doing, and his royal highness, and lady Grosvenor called out, "Who's there?" and, "What was the matter?" That, upon their forcing the door open, he saw the duke of Cumberland about the middle of the room, and lady Grosvenor was got to a door which led to another room, and in attempting to force the same open her ladyship fell down, and Matthew Stephens ran to her assistance; and the duke of Cumberland had then no great-coat on; that the coat he had on was a darkish coloured coat, and a whitish waistcoat, with a dark brown wig on; and his waistcoat, was, at the time they entered the room, unbuttoned almost from the top to the bottom, and he seemed much confused, and went into the room which the door led to, where lady Grosvenor fell, and his highness then and there said, that he was not in her ladyship's bed-chamber, and that he would take his bible oath of it; and this deponent saith, that lady Grosvenor had then on a travelling-dress, which buttons close up to the neck and down to the wrist, and, at such time, when they entered the room it was unbuttoned about her ladyship's neck, and the deponent saw her neck naked, and such dress was tumbled; *and she seemed bold, and not confused all the time*, at least not so much as his highness, and said, she did not know the gentleman, that he was not in her bed-chamber; and this deponent saith, that the room in which they so saw lady Grosvenor and the duke of Cumberland, was a bed-chamber, and there was a bed therein, which this deponent looked at, and saw very much tumbled, but did not appear as if any body had been in it, but did appear tumbled in such a manner as if two persons had been laying upon the same; and for the several



reasons by him before-mentioned, he does verily believe that lady Grosvenor and the duke of Cumberland had lain together upon the said bed, and had had the carnal use and knowledge of each other's bodies, and committed adultery together upon the same bed.

Dennison also deposed to lady Grosvenor going to the countess d'Onhoff's, to his seeing the duke there; and to the letters being her ladyship's hand writing.

Edward Bennet footman to lord Grosvenor aged twenty-seven years, deposed that he attended lady Grosvenor to lady Harrington's rout on Sunday evenings; that the duke so frequently handed her ladyship to her coach or chair, that he began to suspect they were greater than they should be: that his royal highness and she met almost every evening at Ranelagh, Vauxhall, Almack's, Carlisle house, and other places, except when his highness was at sea; also at the countess d'Onhoff's, at Mr. Colts and Mr. Miers, limners, and at Kensington gardens; that lady Grosvenor when she came from the gardens to her coach, had sometimes her hair hanging about her neck; also that he once with Dennison watched her ladyship into the duke of Cumberland's gardens, but that he had refused to go again with Dennison, as he did not choose to see the same over and over again, that when her ladyship went to Eaton, on the very day of her arrival she sent for the keys of the garden gate, and of the building called the play-house, and a blacksmith was sent for to make keys similar to them. He also deposed to breaking open the door of her ladyship's bed-chamber at St. Albans, on this occasion his royal highness coloured very much, and was so very much confused as hardly to be able to utter his words.

Mary Spenceer of Whitechurch in Salop aged eighteen years, deposed, that she lived with her grandfather Mr. John Benson who kept the Red Lion inn at Whitechurch; and that on Friday October 27th 1769, between two or three in the afternoon, two persons attended by a servant named John, came on horseback to the inn; one of them a youngish looking  
man,



man, in a claret coloured great-coat, a brownish under coat, a buff coloured waistcoat, and a blackish wig, the curls of which turned the opposite way, and the hair of the wig in front came down almost to his eyes. He affected to be *filly or foolish*; the person with him said the young squire was *a little foolish*, that they must not mind what he said, that he was employed to attend him, and that they were riding about to see the country. Their horses were taken to other stables. After fixing on a bed-chamber, the young gentleman took a piece of chalk out of his pocket and made a long stroke on the door; the old gentleman chose a room more backward. That same evening about dusk lady Grosvenor arrived, and went to see the bed-chambers, when she fixed on a room over the gate way of the inn, the room was cold and the windows broke; the evidence tried to persuade her ladyship not to lie there but without effect; that the room her ladyship choose was next to that in which the young gentleman lay, the door of which had been chalked. About twelve o'clock at night, she and Jane Richardson the chamber maid, were in the dining room nearly opposite to the young gentleman's room, they heard a bustling in the passage, and after that the door of the young gentleman's room open, that Jane Richardson said it was the door of *the fool's room*; they were afraid the fool would come to them, and as they were going to take the key of the dining room door within side to lock themselves in, they heard the young gentleman's door shut again; they then went to bed, and next morning before the evidence was up, the young gentleman was gone.

Jane Richardson, wife of Joseph Richardson, of Whitchurch, aged thirty two years, chamber-maid at the Red Lion for fifteen years, deposed to the same circumstances that Miss Spencer had done, and to the duke's great coat, blackish wig, to the old gentleman saying, *the young 'Squire was very foolish*; that she took particular notice of the young gentleman at dinner, that then she apprehended the mark on the right



sides of his face, to be a burn, that might have happened from his being silly and foolish, and therefore she pitied him; that he had white eye brows, and she was now convinced he was the duke of Cumberland; that the person who was with him told her the young gentleman was apt to walk in his sleep, and if she saw him in the passages not to touch him, or go near him; that in the morning the sheets of the fool's bed were so very much rumped and tumbled, that she said, on making it, if the fool came there again, he should not have holland sheets; the pillow was found at the very bottom of the bed between the sheets, which she looked upon as one of the fool's foolish tricks; that being in a great hurry, did not take notice whether two persons had lain in the bed or not.

Joseph Richardson, Ostler at the Red Lion, aged thirty six years, deposed that on Friday, Oct. 27, 1769, about two in the afternoon, three persons came to the Red Lion on horse-back, each having saddle bags; they did not like the stables; they wanted a stable of three or four stalls, that they might lock up their horses; they enquired if lady Grosvenor put up there; from their appearance, putting up their horses at a different house, and all things together, he suspected them to be *highwaymen*, and therefore took particular notice of their horses; he now knew the person with the mark on his face to be the duke of Cumberland; lady Grosvenor came to the Red Lion about four or five o'clock; and that the three men having sent their horses to another house, he had nothing further to do with them.

James Parker, aged twenty-four years, waiter at the inn at Barnhill, in the county of Chester, deposed, that on Saturday the 28th of October, 1769, about nine in the morning, three persons on horseback came to the inn, one of the persons whom he now knew to be the duke of Cumberland, had on a snuff coloured great coat, a black wig which came down near to his eyes, and from his odd appearance, and those that



attended him, he suspected them to be highwaymen, and the more so, as they had their horses locked up, and his highness falling asleep at breakfast, which made him think they had been on the watch all night. They also dined at the inn. Soon after dinner lady Grosvenor went by in her coach, the evidence told them it was lady Grosvenor's coach, and in half an hour they set out full gallop after it, which he imagined was to attack it.

Joseph Littler, post boy, at the Saracen's Head in Towcester, in the county of Northampton, deposed April 9th, 1770, that about five months ago, two persons in a post chaise and four arrived at the Saracen's Head about ten or eleven at night; that one of them had a brownish great coat, with the cape buttoned high about his face, seemingly disguised, and his face so much hid that he could see very little of it. The evidence drove him and the other person in a post chaise and four to Daventry, which is the next stage to Chester; they got there about twelve at night. The evidence understood from his fellow-servants, they had been before at the Saracen's Head on horseback, and were suspected to be sharpers or highwaymen, or about something that was not good. In about a week after they came back in a post chaise and four, about nine at night, and he drove them to Stoney Stratford, the next stage to London; that on Sunday the first day of the present month, he saw his royal highness the duke of Cumberland go and come from Court, and believed him to be the same person he had formerly seen disguised at the Saracen's Head.

John Walker, ostler at the Swan inn at Tarpoly, in the county of Chester, swore to their coming to that inn on the 2d of November. Elizabeth Walker, chambermaid at the same inn, deposed to the same effect.

Elizabeth Sutton who took care of the countess d'Onhoff's house, swore to the duke of Cumberland's meeting lady Grosvenor at the countess's house, to their being always alone in the drawing room together, and to their constantly sitting on the couch,



which appeared to be tumbled, but in no other manner than what might happen from sitting on it.

Mary Jones, wife of John Jones of Marford hill in the county of Flint, innholder, aged forty six years, deposed, that she and her husband John Jones, keep an inn known by the name of the Toll house, about six and a half measured miles from Chester. That on the 1st of November last, three persons on horseback came about eleven o'clock in the morning; they had all great coats and new saddle bags. That the person whom she now believes to be the duke of Cumberland, had on a lightish drab coat, a blue and white flannel waistcoat, a brownish wig that came low over his ears and forehead, and a handkerchief round his neck; one of them went by the name of Farmer Tush, another who attended as their servant by the name of John. That his highness was called the Young Squire, and Farmer Tush passed for his guardian; they refreshed themselves with wine and bread and butter, and rode out the same morning; they returned about seven in the evening, supped, and lay in her house. Next morning, being Thursday, they rode out after breakfast, ordering dinner to be ready at five o'clock. About three their man John returned, and ordered her to hasten dinner; and when his highness and Farmer Tush came in, Tush said they must go off immediately, for the Young Squire's father lay a dying, but they liked the place vastly, and would come again in a month, or sooner, if possible. These three persons had five hats, one of which was laced, and four different riding coats; sometimes one wore the laced hat, and sometimes another. *It was reported in the neighbourhood they were highwaymen; and the evidence thought them so; they talked about farming, but knew nothing of the matter.* That on Thursday the 30th of November, Farmer Tush and John came again, about dusk in the evening, each having a led horse in his hand; they lay all night at her house. She enquired of Tush after the Young Squire, he told her he had left him a long way off, but that he might

come



come that night. That next day in the afternoon, Farmer Tush appeared uneasy his highness did not come. That about eight or nine o'clock next morning, being Saturday, his highness came in a post chaise with a gentleman, they brought saddle bags with them; his highness was dressed as before; when they had breakfasted, his highness and Farmer Tush walked out, and came back about five in the afternoon; on Sunday morning they went out on horseback and returned about four in the afternoon. His highness, the person who came with him in the post chaise, and Farmer Tush dined together. They always went out about duskish on horseback. That she knew the person called the Young Squire at her house, was his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, and had seen him twice since she came to London.

Elizabeth Ferguson, chambermaid at Mrs. Kinna's, the Falcon inn in Chester, aged forty years, deposed, that at the time of Chester fair, in October 1769, three persons on horseback, with saddle bags, came to the inn, one of them she now knew to be the duke of Cumberland; he went by the name of Griffiths, another of them by the name of Trusty, and the third by the name of John; they staid at the inn four or five days; Trusty and the duke always riding out of a morning, returning to dinner, and then riding out again, and returning to supper. After they left the inn, they came again in three or four days, drank tea and then went off. This evidence gave the same description of their dress as the former evidences.

Elizabeth Bussey, living at the Falcon inn, kept by Mrs. Kinna, deposed to the same effect with the last witness.

Mary Griffiths, wife of Thomas Griffiths, of Eaton lodge, aged fifty nine years, deposed, that she attended on lord Grosvenor's porter at the lodge, and opened the gate leading to the house and park. That on Saturday the 28th of October 1769, lady Grosvenor and her family arrived at his lordship's seat at Eaton; that in the afternoon her ladyship walked out at the lodge



lodge gate, and did not return till about seven o'clock, when it was dark. The next day at twelve o'clock, the evidence let her ladyship out at the lodge gate, her ladyship walked up and down by it for some time, and then came in and walked in the park; about half an hour after two persons dressed almost alike, came to the lodge gate, and asked if they might walk in the park; the evidence said they might if they pleased; they went in, and, from a window in the lodge she saw lady Grosvenor going towards the house, but on seeing the persons, she turned back, and made up towards them; and the evidence saw her ladyship walking between them, till they went quite out of sight. The evidence wondered where the gentlemen were, and about three o'clock saw them coming towards the lodge gate, and lady Grosvenor making towards the house. In the afternoon lady Grosvenor went out about five and did not return till dark, about seven o'clock. This evidence also described his royal highness by his black wig and the mark on his face. From the Sunday to the Thursday, lady Grosvenor went constantly out at the lodge gate both morning and afternoon into the fields; and once she saw her ladyship meet the two persons. On one of these days they both came on horseback, and rode in the park, and looked at my lord's house. The duke had a great coat on, and was muffled round the neck and the lower part of his face, and a handkerchief tied over the cape of his coat. She saw lady Grosvenor and the two men about two fields distance from the lodge gate, one of them was walking with her ladyship. The weather was sometimes bad and dirty, and the evidence wondered at her ladyship's going so much in dirt, and being out after dark; that when her ladyship returned home, her shoes, stockings, and petticoats were very dirty with field dirt or clay.

That about a month or five weeks after, when lord Grosvenor was from home, lady Grosvenor used to walk out morning and afternoon in the fields as she had done before; that once or twice the same two persons

were



were walking with her ladyship as she believed; that lady Grosvenor when she returned home was **very dirty** and wet about her shoes, stockings, and petticoats; at one time her ladyship's apron was torn, and another time her red riding dress was torn, when she returned from walking in the fields; that her ladyship never returned till about seven o'clock or later. That she knows the duke of Cumberland by the mark in his face.

John Mostyn aged forty-four years, ostler, deposed that about the end of October 1769, a person came to the Bull inn in Coventry, on horseback, with two led horses, and two pair of saddle bags, who said he expected his masters there that night; that they were tradesmen, and he must go and mark some chambers for them. His masters not coming, he went away next morning about six o'clock, taking the horses and bags with him. About an hour after he was gone, two persons came on foot into the inn yard, and enquired if a servant did not come there last night and bespeak beds. One of these persons the evidence now knew to be the duke of Cumberland. On being told the servant had been gone an hour, one of the persons was very angry, and damned him for a fool; said they must now take post chaises, and ordered a post chaise and four to be got ready. That he afterwards went up stairs to know if they would have the horses put to; that the person with the duke of Cumberland then stood in the door way of a bed-chamber, the door of which was marked with chalk; and which was opposite to the bed-chamber into which he had carried lady Grosvenor's luggage, lady Grosvenor having arrived at the inn the evening before about six o'clock, and in which bed-chamber she lay. The evidence had an opportunity to see his royal highness's face as he stopped when getting into the chaise to button himself up. Lady Grosvenor and her family went away about ten in the morning. About three weeks or a month after, he saw the person who had been with his royal highness, and the man who came to  
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the Bull inn, pass thro' Coventry with two led horses.

Richard Brooks, aged twenty three years, deposed that in Nov. 1769, he lived as a servant with Samuel Burgher, a farmer at Huxley, about three miles from Tarpoly in Cheshire. That on Thursday November 2d, he had a holiday in the afternoon, and on going home in the evening between nine and ten o'clock, three persons on horseback were shouting in order to be heard at his master's house. He asked them what business they had there at that time of night? that the road was not a high road. They called him to them and said they would give him something handsome, if he would shew them the road to Tarpoly. He shewed them the way to the Swan inn, and they gave him half a crown.

Mary Reda Vembergh, widow, of Pall-mall, in the county of Middlesex, milliner, aged forty five years, deposes and says, that she hath known lord and lady Grosvenor, the parties in this cause, for about five years last past, and came to know them by seeing them at Tunbridge wells, in the county of Kent; and that she was afterwards employed by lady Grosvenor as a milliner; that some time in or about the month of April 1769, she was applied to by one captain Foulkes, whom she believes to be one of the aids-de-camp to his royal highness Henry Frederick duke of Cumberland, who enquired if she had got the whole of the house; on the first floor of the house on which the deponent then and now does live; and the deponent, finding he wanted some apartments for the duke of Cumberland, said, that she supposed that it was *for something bad, that it was for girl*; and the deponent said, that she had a great deal of custom in her business as a milliner, and would have no such thing in her house that might endanger her losing her customers; and captain Foulkes told this deponent, that he would give her the duke of Cumberland's custom, and desired her to write a letter to his royal highness for that purpose, which she did, requesting his high-

ness



ness's custom ; and this deponent having only the lower part of the house at that time, prevailed upon two of her friends to take the other part of the house for her, which such friends did ; and in a few days after the duke of Cumberland called upon the deponent at her shop in Pall-mall, to see her apartments ; but the deponent not then having the key, his royal highness called a second time, and did see the apartments on the first floor ; at which his royal highness seemed very much pleased, and especially as there were two doors, one into Pall-mall, and the other into a little by street ; and his highness and the deponent had then some conversation together, and the deponent told his highness, that although she was poor, she would not for any money have any thing bad done in her house, and *that she would have no girls there* ; and his highness told this deponent, that the apartments were for no such use ; that he had some particular business with lady Grosvenor, but nothing criminal ; and that she would come there now and then ; and from that time, the duke of Cumberland very frequently, almost daily, came to the deponent's said house, and continued there for some time together ; sometimes for an hour or two ; and during the time he staid, he either wrote or brought a letter ready wrote, but very frequently did write in her house sundry letters, which this deponent received from his highness, and carried to lady Grosvenor, and delivered such letters into her ladyship's own hands ; but when the deponent had not an opportunity of delivering them to her ladyship, she put them into a piece of gauze, or something of that kind, that it might appear like millenery goods ; and sometime in the month of May 1769, the duke of Cumberland told this deponent, that lady Grosvenor wanted to see some foreign silks, and desired to see them at the Opera-house, where Mr. Claude Reda, a friend of this deponent's had rooms to teach fencing ; and this deponent told his highness, that she would bring such silks to the Opera-house some morning when Mr. Reda



da was in the city ; and accordingly one morning his royal highness called upon this deponent at her said house in Pall-mall, and she went to the Opera-house in the Haymarket, and there let his royal highness into Mr. Reda's apartments, where the deponent locked his highness in, and he continued alone for near an hour and a half ; and, about that time, lady Grosvenor called at the deponent's house, and the deponent told her that his highness was at the Opera-house, and that the silks were there ; and she desired the deponent to go before ; and the deponent accordingly went, and let her ladyship in, and attended her up stairs into the dining room or apartments so called ; *and his royal highness kissed lady Grosvenor*, and the deponent opened the silks for her ladyship to see, and the duke or lady Grosvenor sent the deponent out of the room for something, and thereupon his highness, or lady Grosvenor immediately locked the door of such room, and the deponent went into the kitchen, and whilst there, heard lady Grosvenor and his highness laughing and playing together ; and the bell to the Opera-house door being rung, the deponent went below stairs, and there continued for some time, about a quarter of an hour or more, and then she went up stairs again, and as she was going through a passage to the kitchen, and which passage adjoins to a bed-chamber, belonging to such apartments, and the deponent *bearing a great noise upon the bed*, was extremely surprised and frightened : and this deponent saith, that in such passage where she was, there is a door, which is nailed up, and which door made part of a wall adjoining to the bedchamber, and the bed was close to the side of the room by such door ; and this deponent being so very near, very plainly heard such bed crack, and his highness and lady Grosvenor pushing very much, and the deponent heard his highness cry *he, he, in a rough manner, as if he was doing hard work* ; and lady Grosvenor *in a softer manner, in a kind of laughing manner, and like sighing* ; and this deponent thence from was convinced that his royal high-



highness the duke of Cumberland, and lady Grosvenor, were then in the act of carnal copulation; and the deponent expected to find the bed, from the cracking and noise she heard thereon, to be very much tumbled; and the deponent hearing the duke and lady Grosvenor afterwards laughing and playing in the dining room, she knocked at the door, and being let in, told her ladyship that she had been there long enough; that it was time she left her company, lest lord Grosvenor should go by and see her coach at the Opera-house, and should catch her with the duke of Cumberland, and that she was afraid the servants would suspect what was true; and the deponent attended lady Grosvenor to her coach, she taking a piece of silk under her arm; and his highness went away in about ten minutes or a quarter of an hour; and this deponent, fearing that Mr. Reda's bed was tumbled, from the great noise she had heard thereon, went into the bedchamber to put the bed to rights; and she was very much surprised to find that the bed was not so much tumbled as she expected, but this deponent did observe the marks or pressures of two hands and arms upon the bed; and the sides of the bed were tumbled a little; which the deponent supposed to be done by the knees of a person pressing against the bed; and this deponent, recollecting that lady Grosvenor was then very big with child, did suppose, and does in her conscience believe, *that such pressures on the bed and the sides of the bed, were made by lady Grosvenor's hands, arms, and knees*, when she was, as this deponent is convinced she was, in the act of carnal copulation with his royal highness; and she is the more convinced thereof, because she did then see and observe upon the carpet, near the bed side, three or four drops, which appeared to the deponent to come from man, and to be the nature and consequence usual upon carnal copulation; and the deponent wiped the same up to prevent any thing being known afterwards; and by reason of the several circumstances before mentioned, she hath not the least doubt, but is convinced,



ed, that the duke of Cumberland and lady Grosvenor had then and there the carnal use and knowledge of each other, and committed adultery together: and the next morning his royal highness called upon this deponent with a letter for lady Grosvenor, and desired her to take such letter to lady Grosvenor, which this deponent at first refused, saying, she was afraid to carry it, as she herself well knew what passed at the Opera-house; but his highness seemed very much affected at her refusal, *and on his knees*, begged this deponent to take such letter; and she at length took charge of such letter, and sent it with some mil-lenary goods to lady Grosvenor: and this deponent almost daily received letters from his highness for lady Grosvenor, most of which, after what had so happened, she sent to lady Grosvenor, but some she carried, and lady Grosvenor frequently called and left letters with the deponent, for his highness, and his highness frequently called for such letters himself, and sometimes sent his porter for them: and this deponent further saith, that on the 4th of June 1769, being his Majesty's birth day, his highness came to the deponent's house full dressed, and told this deponent, that he had been to the countess d'Onhoff's the corner of Hollis street Cavendish square, where he was to meet lady Grosvenor, but that there was company there, and that he could not see her; and his highness seemed to be unhappy, and in despair; and wanted the deponent to go to the countess d'Onhoff's, and whilst his highness and the deponent were talking together, lady Grosvenor with the countess d'Onhoff in lady Grosvenor's coach, stopped at the deponent's door, and the deponent went to the door, and gave the wink that his highness was there; and lady Grosvenor said to the countess d'Onhoff, " he is here, " let's go in;" and they came into the parlour to his highness; and they afterwards desired to go up stairs, and accordingly lady Grosvenor, countess d'Onhoff, and his highness went up stairs into a room adjoining to a room in which there was a bed, and a door from  
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the room to such bedchamber; and they desired to have tea; and this deponent, attempting to go into the room with a tea kettle, found the same locked, and the countess d'Onhoff opened the door to her; and lady Grosvenor was then sitting upon his highness's knees, and his highness's arms were round her ladyship; and it being dark the deponent offered to bring candles, but the countess said, "*no, no, we don't want candles, get you gone about your business,*" or something to that effect; and his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, lady Grosvenor, and countess d'Onhoff, so continued above stairs in the dark for about three quarters of an hour together; that lady Grosvenor and countess d'Onhoff went away in lady Grosvenor's coach, and his highness in about ten minutes after, went away by the back door in a chair; and in two or three days his highness called upon this deponent at her said house, and told the deponent that lady Grosvenor was in labour, and he seemed very uneasy, and very solicitous to know how her ladyship did, and desired the deponent to go to lady Grosvenor's, and gave the deponent a letter for her, and she was to bring the answer to captain Foulkes's house in South Audley street; and this deponent accordingly went to lady Grosvenor's, and found she was brought to bed, and was pretty well, and the deponent did not therefore deliver such letter; but the deponent went to captain Foulkes's house, where his highness was waiting for an answer, and she returned him such letter, and told his highness, that lady Grosvenor was brought to bed, and that she was pretty well; and in the evening of the next day, the deponent received a letter from lady Grosvenor, with some millinery goods, by one of her ladyship's sisters; and such letter was among such goods; and within the deponent's letter was a letter for the duke of Cumberland, which she delivered to his highness; and this deponent the next day, or the day after, carried a letter which she received from his highness, having put the same in a piece of blond lace, and delivered



ed it to lady Grosvenor's maid, and received an answer thereto in such blond lace, which she delivered to his highness; and almost daily, till his highness went to sea, which was in a few days, she received letters from his highness for lady Grosvenor, which she either delivered herself, or sent with some millenery goods to her ladyship; and some time in the said month of June, the day his highness left London in order to go to sea, this deponent was with his highness at his house in Pall-mall, and his highness seemed very much concerned that he was going abroad, on account of lady Grosvenor; *cried very much, and seemed almost distracted; and said he should die* if the deponent did not send him lady Grosvenor's letters; and she promised to forward them to his highness; and his highness was so absent about six weeks; and the deponent during that time, received a great many parcels, *to the number, she believes, of thirty*, from his royal highness, and which she received by one of his porters; and the deponent twice delivered, during his absence, letters from him to lady Grosvenor herself; and she used, at other times, to send such letters for lady Grosvenor in a band box, with some things to Miss Vernon, her ladyship's sister, and sometimes to Miss Lucy Vernon, her ladyship's other sister; and by the said Miss Vernon, and Miss Lucy Vernon, their maids and others, she received letters for his royal highness, and delivered such letters to his highness's porter, who constantly every day, during his highness's absence, called at the deponent's house, to know if she had letters or parcels for him.

And this deponent further saith, that, whilst lady Grosvenor lay in, she having a letter or letters from his highness for her ladyship, went with such letter to lord Grosvenor's house in Grosvenor square, and was shewn up into her ladyship's bedchamber, where she was upon the bed; and the deponent delivered her a letter from his highness; and whilst she was up there, lord Grosvenor came into the room, at which the deponent was much confused, having at that in-

stant



stant received from her ladyship a pareel for his highness, which she was putting into her pocket ; and the deponent was much frightened, and withdrew from the room, telling her ladyship, that she would send the things as soon as possible ; which might be only an excuse ; and the deponent might have something to send her ladyship, as she now and then bought something of her ; and the deponent at that time sold her ladyship a piece of silk.

Mrs. Reda also deposed to his royal highness's hand writing, and the hand writing of lady Grosvenor. *For these letters see page 42 to page 73 of this volume.*

She further deposes and says, that after the duke of Cumberland returned from sea, which she believes was some time in or about the month of August 1769, she received two or three letters from his highness for the said lady Grosvenor, one of which she believes was brought by captain Foulkes, his highness's aid-de camp, and the others by his porter ; which letters this deponent sent to Miss Caroline Vernon her ladyship's sister, in a band box or pareel with millenery goods ; and once she sent a letter from his highness to her ladyship in a band box or pareel to her sister Mrs. Hill's ; and this deponent, in such band box or pareel, received an answer from lady Grosvenor, which she sent to his royal highness ; and other letters, her ladyship's answers to his highness, she received by her sisters Miss Caroline and Miss Luey Vernon ; sometimes the one calling at her shop, and sometimes the other, and sometimes by their respective maids, in a band box or pareels ; and the duke of Cumberland applied to this deponent, that his highness and lady Grosvenor might meet again at the Opera-house ; but she constantly refused the same, and they never met, to her knowledge, otherwise than by her before deposed of.

William Roberts, ostler, at the Toll house inn at Marford hill in Flintshire, aged twenty eight years, deposed, that on the 11<sup>th</sup> of November 1769, three persons came on horseback to the inn, there were saddle



bags to each ; they lay at the inn that night, and next morning rode towards Chester ; when they returned to dinner, one of them desired him not to take the saddle bags off, but to clean the horses a little, for they must go away, as the young gentleman's father was dying ; the young gentleman he now knew to be his royal highness the duke of Cumberland ; they were mostly in horsemen's coats, and his royal highness was muffled up about the neck, and a darkish wig combed down on his forehead ; they appeared as farmers ; his royal highness called one of his attendants Farmer 'Tush ; the servant was called John ; they talked about farming business, but the evidence did not think by what they said, that they were farmers. About the end of November, on a Thursday, 'Tush and John came again, each had a led horse ; 'Tush said he expected the Young Squire the next day ; they lay at the house that night, and next night sat up late expecting the Young Squire, and appeared to be uneasy ; the Young Squire did not come till next morning being Saturday, and another gentleman with him in a post chaise, they brought with them four or five pair of saddle bags ; they were all dressed as before ; they breakfasted, and then the Young Squire and Farmer 'Tush walked out in their great coats ; they lay at Marford hill that night, and next morning being Sunday, the Young Squire, 'Tush, and John, went out on horseback, and in the evening the three and the gentleman who came with the Squire went away on horseback ; they all of them except his royal highness had saddle bags.

John Hughes, who lived near his lordship's house at Eaton, deposed, that the Monday evening after her ladyship came to Eaton, in the month of October 1769, he met two persons, between two and three hundred yards from lord Grosvenor's garden walls, going towards his lordship's house ; that presently after he met a person with three horses ; that next evening he saw them again going towards my lord's house, and having heard on that day, Tuesday, *that they*

*were*



were highwaymen, he took more notice of them. Here the dark wig with one curl, and the great coats are again described. On the Wednesday he met the two persons again, the little man had his great coat muffled about his mouth, and he observed, had light eye brows. That he now knew that person to be his royal highness the duke of Cumberland.

Ralph Henchall, in October 1769 drawer at the Red Lyon inn at Whitechurch, deposed the same as the two Richardsons and other evidences at that inn. And that when he went up into the bedchamber to call the chambermaid, she said, "*that the foolish fellow,*" meaning the duke of Cumberland, "*had made the devil of a tumbled bed.*"

Robert Giddings, gentleman, porter to his royal highness Henry Frederick duke of Cumberland, aged forty eight years, deposed, that in October 1769, his royal highness set out to travel *incog*. That his highness lay that night at the White Hart inn, St. Albans, in a room, that opened into another, in which he afterwards heard lady Grosvenor lay. That next morning they went to the Saracen's head at Towcester; that he might call his highness *Farmer*, and *Jones*, and his highness called him *Trusty*; that his highness or the evidence marked the door of the chamber his highness was to be in with chalk; he could not recollect whether lady Grosvenor came to the inn at Towcester that night or not. That he made no minutes or memorandums of his royal highness's journey into Cheshire. That at the Four Crosses inn *he might talk a great deal of nonsense to the people upon some questions asked him*; he *might* tell them, but does not recollect he *did*, that the duke's name was *Morgan*; that he lived at Fredegar in Wales; *that he was a little out of his senses*; that he had two hundred pounds for looking after him; that they had just come from France, and had spoiled their cloaths in the voyage, and been obliged to get new ones. That his highness might go by the name of *Squire Morgan*. The evidence relating to the journey on the road is all of the same nature;



ture ; it might be, or he could not recollect. At lord Grosvenor's seat at Halkin in Flintshire, he believed he said to lord Grosvenor's groom *out of fun*, that he had a commission from abroad to buy horses ; he pretended to be a foreigner, and his royal highness *acted as his interpreter*. This evidence deposed to his highness meeting lady Grosvenor in the fields near Eaton, and in Eaton park, and that on one of the days his royal highness *read a play*, or some book to lady Grosvenor ; but that he was never out of their sight and hearing. The breaking open lady Grosvenor's bed-chamber door, at the White Hart inn at St. Alban's, waked him ; that when he went to his highness, his highness desired him to say nothing ; that he had no reason to believe that his highness then had the carnal use and knowledge of the body of lady Grosvenor, or at any other time whatever. His highness and the evidence left the White Hart and went to the Woolpack inn, and from thence took a chaise and proceeded to London.

John Burton, waiter at the Saracen's head in Tower-  
 ceſter, deposed to three persons coming on horseback to the inn, the end of October 1769 ; they enquired who were in the house, and where the passengers lay that came in the stage coaches ; such enquiry, together with their appearance, caused him to suspect *that they were not so honest as they should be* ; therefore he told his master as much, with his reasons, and in consequence thereof, *two of the people of the inn sat up till they went away*, which was between twelve and one in the morning, in a post chaise, towards London. That about five in the afternoon while the said persons were at the inn, lady Grosvenor arrived, and betwixt ten and eleven next morning went for Cheshire. In a fortnight or three weeks after, the two persons, whom he now believed to be the duke of Cumberland and Mr. Giddings, came again to the inn and had a post chaise for London.

Jane Charleton, spinster, aged twenty four years, chambermaid at the Four Crosses inn, Wolverhampton,



ton, in Staffordshire, deposed, that on Thursday October 26th 1769, a gentleman, whom she now knew to be the duke of Cumberland, with two servants, came on horseback to the inn about two in the afternoon, and soon after he fixed on a bedchamber for himself. That one of the servants who attended his highness, and whom she now knew to be Mr. Giddings, told her his royal highness's name was *Morgan*, that he lived in Wales; that he had two hundred pounds a year for taking care of him; that they were just come from France; that their cloaths were spoiled on the voyage, and they had been obliged to get new ones. From the disguise of his highness, and the freedom of his servants, she thought he was disordered in his senses. His highness and Mr. Giddings dined together, and soon after went up stairs. Between six and seven o'clock in the evening lady Grosvenor and her family came to the inn. Her ladyship fixed on the bedchamber next to that where his highness lay for herself. Lady Grosvenor supped about eight o'clock, and retired to her bedchamber soon after nine. About a month after his royal highness came again to the inn, and had a post chaise on the road towards Chester. That sometime after, there being some talk about the duke of Cumberland and lady Grosvenor, and that the bedchamber doors had been marked with chalk on the road; she did then, but not before, observe the marks of chalk on the door of the bedchamber in which his highness had lain.

William Griffiths, stud groom to lord Grosvenor at Halkin, deposed to his highness and Giddings coming to see the horses, on pretence of having a commission from the King of France to purchase two hundred horses. That his highness acted as an interpreter.

Sarah Phipps, chambermaid at the Saracen's head Towcester, deposed, that on Tuesday, in the month of October 1769, three persons came to the inn about two o'clock; that lady Grosvenor and her family came about five o'clock. That the muffled up person was called Farmer Jones; from their appearance, the  
sus-



suspected them to be sharpers, therefore she and others sat up till they were gone ; they went off about twelve o'clock in a post chaise ; lady Grosvenor staid that night at the inn, and went away next morning about eleven o'clock.

John Anderton, travelling groom to lord Grosvenor, deposed to intercepting *the letters given in pages 42 to 73 in this volume* ; and to the breaking open the door at St. Albans, all the circumstances of which have already been repeatedly given in the former evidences.

William Vernon, lord Grosvenor's first coachman, deposed to driving her ladyship, and Miss Caroline Vernon her sister and one of the maids of honour to her Majesty, frequently three or four times a week to Kensington palace ; and once saw the duke of Cumberland come in a hackney coach, a few minutes after he had set his lady and Miss Vernon down. That for two or three days together it rained very much, and if lady Grosvenor had been walking in the gardens, she must have been very much wet, which she was not. At all times, except once, there was a hackney coach in waiting ; the hackney coachmen and he drank together, and they constantly told him, they had brought his royal highness, and waited to carry him back ; that at all times when lady Grosvenor returned to get into her coach for London, her dress appeared much disordered, her ruffles and apron very much tumbled, and her hair behind hanging about her neck as if she had tumbled it by lying down ; and he remembers her apron being once torn ; from all which circumstances he believed that his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, at all, some, or one of the times at Kensington palace, and the said lady Grosvenor, had the carnal use and knowledge of each other's bodies, and committed the crime of adultery together ; and also because, when he attended her at all other times and places, her hair and dress did not appear disordered or tumbled ; but when she came from the palace she always seemed to have less powder in her  
hair



hair than when she went in. He also deposed to Scarborough the perfumer to his royal highness running after lady Grosvenor's coach to deliver a message or letter.

William Roberts, farmer, of Belgrave, about a mile and three quarters from lord Grosvenor's seat at Eaton, had some conversation with a person whom he now knew to be his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, on the 1st day of November 1769; there were two other persons with his royal highness, who was disguised in a long furtout coat, the cape of which was tied round his neck with a handkerchief, a dark wig on, and his hat slouched before. On the 29th of March 1770 he saw his royal highness, and is certain from his face and walk, and being knapper kneed, turning his toes out, and his appearance in general, that he is the same person he saw disguised about his house at Belgrave.

Nathaniel Abraham, deposed, that on the 2d of December 1769, going into a field to mend a fence, that lord Grosvenor's sheep might not get into it, in one of the fields saw something red, through a hovel or place for feeding cattle in the field; he went into the hovel, and what looked red, was lady Grosvenor dressed in a red riding habit. He also saw lady Grosvenor walking along a hedge, and then her ladyship got into the ditch, and so over the hedge, and her ladyship went and sat down under a tree, and he saw a man sitting with her, and they appeared to sit very close to each other; lady Grosvenor got up and came towards him, on which he got up into a tree and pretended to be cutting hedge stakes.

Mary Ash, servant at the Four Crosses inn, deposed, that three gentlemen came there, and the same evening lady Grosvenor came to the inn, and that after the foolish Squire and his attendants were gone, they saw marks of chalk on both bedchambers; and that the Squire and her ladyship lay in two chambers adjoining to each other.

John



# 114 Trial of Lady Grosvenor, for Adultery

John Jones of Putton, gardner, deposed, that on Saturday the 28th of October 1769, at Eccleston, near Eaton lord Grosvenor's seat, at a publick house kept by Barbara Jones, two persons came into the room where he was drinking, the little man in a black wig and great coat buttoned about his neck, sat down by him ; they went and took a walk and returned ; and after drinking some beer, took their horses and went away. On the Thursday after at ten in the morning, he saw the said two persons, with a third, *drinking in the stables* of the said house ; he spoke to them, and they ordered him some beer in the house, and soon after they all went away on horseback. That he had since seen the duke of Cumberland in London, and that he is the same person he saw twice at Barbara Jones's at Eccleston, he knew him by his features, and the mark on the right side of his face.

Thomas Hilliard of Figdon, in the parish of Eccleston, farmer, deposed, that on Sunday the 29th of October, he saw three persons about half a mile from lord Grosvenor's house at Eaton ; two of them alighted, and the third led off their horses. On the Tuesday following at noon, he saw two of them in a field occupied by him, near a stile which led into a field of lord Grosvenor's, and the direct road to his house. And in the evening he saw the two persons again, and he having been informed they were *highwaymen*, thought it his duty, and accordingly acquainted Mr. Vigars his lordship's steward, of such persons being about the fields ; and from their enquiring of him the road to Eaton ferry, he suspected they were about lord Grosvenor's house and fields with *some bad intent* ; that one of them was muffled up about the neck with a handkerchief, and had a horseman's great coat on, and a dark coloured wig or hair ; and when the evidence looked at him, he turned his head another way.

Edward le Grand, Esq; deposed to the letters exhibited to him to be the hand writing of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland.

Ben.



Benjamin Davis of Alford, in Cheshire, husbandman, deposed, that for the last five years he had worked for lord Grosvenor, and that the first Sunday after lady Grosvenor came to Eaton, being the 28th or 29th of October 1769, he was attending a charcoal pit about ten rood from the house; that about half a mile distance he saw two gentlemen in the park; that lady Grosvenor passed him and went after them, and in about half an hour lady Grosvenor and the two gentlemen came up and looked at the pit. He observed the two gentlemen go out of the park gate, which is not far from the charcoal pit. One of them had an ash coloured great coat, a blackish wig, round hat, and the cape of his coat buttoned up; that he had been to see his royal highness the duke of Cumberland since he came to town; that the person he saw *mighty finely dressed*, was the same he saw in lord Grosvenor's park; he especially remembered the mark on the right side of his face, which the fine dressed person had also.

Hannah Birch, servant, aged twenty nine years, deposed, that she had known lady Grosvenor nine years; that lord and lady Grosvenor had cohabited together till June last 1769; she constantly attended lady Grosvenor when she went to bed and when she rose in the morning, till lady Grosvenor left his lordship's family; and she believed, ever since June last, lord Grosvenor had never lain in the same bed with lady Grosvenor, or had the carnal use and knowledge of her body. That lady Grosvenor was brought to bed the 7th of June last 1769; lord Grosvenor used generally, more than once a day, to come to lady Grosvenor's bedchamber to enquire after her health; a few days after her delivery Mrs. Reda, a milliner, was with lady Grosvenor, but this evidence was not present; about a fortnight after lady Grosvenor had lain in, about eight in the evening, lord Grosvenor having been with her ladyship in her bedchamber, sent this evidence to her ladyship; she found lady Grosvenor in great distress, who said to her, "*Why did*



## 116 Trial of Lady GROSVENOR, for Adultery

"you not tell me my lord was at home, or come home?" the evidence replied, she did not know whether his lordship was come home or not, as she had not been down stairs. Lady Grosvenor then informed her that lord Grosvenor had taken from her some letters which she would not have had him seen for the whole world; and also said, she supposed this evidence knew what they were about; from what this evidence had heard, she supposed the letters were from the duke of Cumberland; lady Grosvenor said the letters were from the duke, and that she must go out of the house that night, for it was impossible for her to stay after my lord had seen these letters; this evidence desired her ladyship to compose herself, and consider her situation, as her month was not up since her lying in. *She also deposed to lady Grosvenor's hand writing. See letters, pages 42 to 73.*

Next morning lady Grosvenor said to her, that if she had had a servant she could have trusted to have conveyed a note, she needed not have put herself in other people's power, adding that she was in many people's power; that she had often thought of mentioning it to this evidence, but she expected this evidence would have made a great noise and exclaimed against it, which would have been disagreeable to her. She replied, that if such note had been in her opinion improperly directed, she would have refused carrying it, though she should have been turned out of doors for refusing. Lady Grosvenor said she expected as much, and therefore was forced to put herself in other people's power, and added, *that when a woman is determined to proceed in that way, it was not in a servant's power to prevent it.* The evidence answered, *she believed it was not; but if she could not prevent, she would not encourage it; for the easier such things were done, the more it encouraged such proceedings.* This evidence believed her ladyship did converse with her in this manner, to try if she would assist her ladyship in her intercourse with the duke of Cumberland.

This



This evidence also deposed to the journey to his lordship's house at Eaton, and to her ladyship walking out when there, and returning with her stockings and petticoats, both upper and under, very dirty with field dirt or clay. That her ladyship arrived at Eaton on Saturday about dinner time; and the Friday following his lordship arrived; but he was sometimes absent for two or three days, and then was at his house at Halkin in Flintshire. That on Thursday, in December last 1769, returning to London, they arrived at the White Hart inn, St. Albans, and that between ten and eleven at night when in bed, she heard a noise, which as she heard afterwards, was occasioned by lady Grosvenor's servants attempting to break into her ladyship's room.

Edward Toms, one of the trumpets to his Majesty's household, aged forty two years, deposed to the letters being in lady Grosvenor's hand writing; to the intercepting them; and to his copying some of them for lord Grosvenor.

Samuel Sutton deposed to his royal highness being at the countess of d'Onhoff's with lady Grosvenor.

The reverend Philip Duval, aged thirty eight years, secretary to his royal highness, deposed, that the writing of the letters exhibited as his royal highness's, was like his hand writing.

The honourable Caroline Vernon, one of the maids of honour to her Majesty, a spinster, aged seventeen years, deposed that she was sister to the right honourable lady Grosvenor, and to the letters being in lady Grosvenor's hand writing; that she had been often in company with the duke and lady Grosvenor at different places, but had no reason to believe, that his royal highness the duke of Cumberland ever had the carnal use or knowledge of the body of lady Grosvenor; that she had drank tea at the duke's with lady Grosvenor, had advised lady Grosvenor against going to the duke's to drink tea, but lady Grosvenor said there was no harm in it; that she had never seen any part of her sister's dress tumbled; that on the 23d



of October 1769 she went with lady Grosvenor and her family to St. Albans, they put up at the White Hart inn, in the evening his royal highness came, and supped with lady Grosvenor and this evidence; that his highness had the bedchamber next lady Grosvenor's, but the evidence fastened the door which led into it, and she was certain his royal highness and lady Grosvenor did not lie that night, or any part of it, naked and alone in one and the same bed, or commit the crime of adultery together; that the duke and her ladyship to her knowledge did not meet in either of the bedchambers, this evidence being always in their company.

Several witnesses deposed to their being at different inns on the road, but it would be superfluous to repeat, what has been already often repeated by the former evidences. The only new circumstance in those omitted is, that Mary Jones of Eccleston, within a short mile of lord Grosvenor's house at Eaton, told the duke, when at their house they were calling each other farmer, that his hands were too delicate to have made use of a plough, to which it was answered, that they kept servants to do that for them.

Matthew Stephens, lord Grosvenor's butler, deposed to lady Grosvenor's hand writing: to most of the other circumstances given by the former evidences his lordship's servants; to breaking into her ladyship's bedchamber at the White Hart inn St. Albans; to the *Bible Oath expression*; and to his belief that his royal highness and lady Grosvenor had, on the bed at that inn, had the carnal use of each other's bodies, and committed the crime of adultery together; but as they could not force the door immediately, his highness and lady Grosvenor had time to get off the bed.



THE RECRIMINATION OF  
LADY GROSVENOR.

DEPOSITIONS of the WITNESSES in behalf of Lady  
GROSVENOR.

ELIZABETH Roberts, of Bennet-street, in the parish of St. Mary le Bone, in the county of Middlesex, spinster, aged twenty one years and upwards, deposes and says, that she knows the right honourable Richard Lord Grosvenor, party in this cause, and hath known him from about the months of May or June last: that one evening in those months, but which month or what particular evening the deponent does not now recollect, she happened to be walking thro' Cranbourn alley, near Leicester fields, in the county of Middlesex, and overtook a gentleman, whom she has since found to be Richard lord Grosvenor, party in this cause; and she, the deponent, accosted him, and asked him how he did? to which he answered, *Oh, how do you do, my little wicked? Will you go and drink a glass of wine with me?* and the deponent assenting to such proposal, he, the said Richard lord Grosvenor, desired her to go to a house in Leicester fields called the Hotel, and he would follow her: that the deponent went to the hotel accordingly, and the said Richard lord Grosvenor followed her thither; and they went into a room up one pair of stairs, in which there was a green bed; and the deponent and his lordship there drank a crown bowl of arrack punch together: that his lordship, during the time they were in such room together, said to the deponent, "*My dear little girl, are you well? because if you are not, tell me, and I'll give you double the sum of money I shall give you if I recover you;*" to which the deponent answered, that she was very well; and he again replied, that he would not be injured for all the world; that the said Richard lord Grosvenor then immediately desired the deponent



to lay down cross the bed, which she accordingly did, and his lordship then rogered her, meaning thereby that he had the carnal use and knowledge of her body; that he gave the deponent a guinea on the occasion, then rung the bell, and the waiter, whose name was John Collins, came into the room, and the said Richard Lord Grosvenor then paid the waiter half a guinea for the use of the room, and seven shillings and six pence for the punch, and to the waiter for his attendance, and other things, after which there remained three shillings of his change for a guinea, which he also gave to the deponent. That the said lord Grosvenor then enquired of the deponent where she lived? and the deponent informed him, but told him she could not see any company there: that he then told the deponent that he liked her very well, and she asked him, if she might speak to him when she saw him again? but he replied, no, not for the world; and then also told her, that she should make use of a signal by which he should know her, which was, that whenever she saw him, *she should hold up her petticoats, and show her legs*, and if he was inclined to go with her, he would, on such signal, follow her to some proper house; and this signal being settled, his lordship went away from the hotel, and left the deponent behind him; and when the deponent went down stairs, she saw Collins the waiter, who informed her, that the gentleman she had been with was lord Grosvenor, which she was before unacquainted with. That about ten days after the circumstances abovementioned, she, the deponent, was walking cross Leicester fields, towards Cranbourn alley aforesaid, and looking back saw the said Richard lord Grosvenor near her; upon which *she pulled up her petticoats*, being the signal agreed upon, and his lordship observing such signal, turned about, and walked down another side of the square, to the hotel aforesaid, and the deponent followed him at a little distance, and they went up stairs into the room with the green bed in it, where she had been before, and his lordship again ordered a

crown



crown bowl of arrack punch, and Collins the waiter attended his lordship and the deponent, as he had done before ; and his lordship then rogered the deponent upon the same bed, meaning and intending thereby, that he had the carnal use and knowledge of her body, for which he gave her a guinea, and having paid the expences of the house, went away. That about, or near a month after the circumstances last mentioned, on a Saturday evening, about eight o'clock, she, the deponent, happening to be walking in Leicester fields, met the said Richard lord Grosvenor, near Sidney's alley, and she immediately turned round, *beld up her petticoats*, according to agreement, and walked away to the hotel aforesaid, and the said lord Grosvenor followed her thither ; and they went into the same room up one pair of stairs, and had a five shilling bowl of arrack punch ; and his lordship observing the picture of a naked woman over the fire place, told the deponent, that *she would look as well naked* as the woman in the picture, and desired the deponent *to strip herself naked* ; to which she at first objected ; but he told her, she would oblige him much by doing it, and she, the deponent, *stripped herself naked accordingly*, and lay down upon the bed ; and his lordship came to her, and was ready for action ; but his breeches hurting the deponent's thighs, he got off again, and pulled off his breeches and shoes, and then came to her again, and rogered her ; after which the deponent sat *quite naked upon his lordship's lap for near a quarter of an hour, he being all that time without his breeches and shoes* ; and then the said Richard lord Grosvenor rogered her again, meaning and intending thereby, that he had the carnal use and knowledge of her body : that his lordship on such occasion, gave the deponent a guinea and a half, and having paid the expences of the house went away. That the house called the Leicester fields hotel, as aforesaid, was kept by one George Haushman, whom she then knew by the name of French George ; and that it is a house,  
where



where persons of both sexes are received at unseasonable, and at all hours. And the deponent further saith, that before she knew or had any connection with lord Grosvenor, she used to visit one Miss Smith, who lodged at a chandler's shop, the corner of Lisle street, Leicester fields; and she, the said Miss Smith, was also visited by a gentleman, who passed for a gentleman from the city, but whom she since knows to be lord Grosvenor, party in this cause. And the deponent also saith, that she knows the gentleman with whom she had connections, as aforesaid, to be Richard lord Grosvenor, party in this cause, by reason, that one day last summer, she was in the court yard at St. James's on a court day, and lord Grosvenor's servants being called, they answered; and then she saw his lordship come to them, and get into a chair, and was then convinced, that he was the person she had been connected with, as by her before mentioned.

Mary Muilment, widow, aged fifty years, deposed she did not know any thing of lord Grosvenor's having led a wicked and debauched life,

Mrs. Boisgermain, aged twenty years, said that she was not by law obliged to answer, as to any intercourse between herself and lord Grosvenor.

Foulk Williams of Neston, in Cheshire, shoemaker, aged twenty seven years, deposed, that he, and Charlotte Gwynne his sister, being on the road to Neston, observed a coach with six horses, going along the Holywell road; his sister told him it was lord Grosvenor's coach, and that the other gentleman in it with his lordship, was captain Vernon, lady Grosvenor's brother; that after riding about a mile, lord Grosvenor came after them on horseback; that he left his sister and lord Grosvenor together near half an hour; on returning to his sister, she told him she was to meet lord Grosvenor at Chester the next day; that next day his sister went to Chester, and sent a letter to lord Grosvenor, then at Eaton; that the boy brought back an answer "That lord Grosvenor desired his sister  
" to be on the walls of Chester, about nine or ten  
" o'clock



“ o’clock next morning.” His sister went next morning, staid near an hour, returned in good spirits, and said lord Grosvenor had given her some money, and she made this evidence a present. His sister took coach for London, and he went to Neston. It was generally reported in the country, that lord Grosvenor was too intimately acquainted with his sister.

Thomas Hervey, Esq; aged thirty years, deposed, that some years since he and lord Grosvenor went to Mrs. Charlotte Hayes’s in Duke street, near Piccadilly, and supped with Charlotte Gwynne and Polly Jones; that after supper this evidence retired with Polly Jones, and left lord Grosvenor and Charlotte Gwynne alone together; that he did not know, but supposed lord Grosvenor and Charlotte Gwynne lay together that night, as he saw his lordship there next morning; that by lord Grosvenor’s desire, he furnished Charlotte Gwynne with ten guineas to carry her to Wales; that he afterwards saw her at Charlotte Hayes’s, when she told him her friends in Wales would not receive her. That Charlotte Hayes’s was a house of ill fame, and that Charlotte Gwynne was a woman of loose character, or common prostitute, as he verily believed.

Henry Vernon, of Hilton, near Wolverhampton, in Staffordshire, Esq; aged twenty two years, brother to lady Grosvenor, deposed, that he believed in his conscience lady Grosvenor was a person of sober, chaste, and virtuous life and conversation, one who would not violate her marriage vow, and who always behaved well and virtuously towards lord Grosvenor, her husband. That three or four years ago he found lady Grosvenor in tears, and she accused lord Grosvenor of having used her extremely ill, on that and many other occasions; that one day at dinner his lordship spoke in such terms to her, as occasioned a flood of tears, and she went up stairs, not being able to eat any dinner; at this his lordship’s servants were also present. This evidence also deposed to lord Grosvenor’s



venor's getting out of his coach, and riding after Charlotte Gwynne on the road from Holywell to Eaton; and to lord Grosvenor's desiring him not to mention it to lady Grosvenor; this happened in November 1767; that Gwynne also went by the name of Alice Williams, and now by the name of Alice Tipping, wife of William Tipping.

Alice Tipping, wife of William Tipping, formerly Williams, otherwise Gwynne, aged twenty two years, deposed, that lord Grosvenor supped one evening at Charlotte Hayes's with her, captain Thomas Hervey, and one Polly Jones; that after supper, lord Grosvenor and the evidence lay together all night; that lord Grosvenor did commit adultery with her, and had the carnal use and knowledge of her body; that lord Grosvenor complained of want of bed cloaths, and Grinfield, servant woman to Charlotte Hayes, fetched more cloaths and put them on the bed; that for four or five nights immediately succeeding, lord Grosvenor visited this evidence at Charlotte Hayes's, and usually staid till about two in the morning, and each of these times she had lain naked in the same bed with lord Grosvenor, who committed the crime of adultery with her, and had the carnal use and knowledge of her body; that he wanted her to live as a maid servant with lady Grosvenor, but she refused; that by lord Grosvenor's desire she went to Chester, he furnishing her with what money he could spare, and writing to captain Thomas Hervey to let her have what further sum she might want; that she went to Chester and was introduced to his lordship by a woman, whom she believed to be the wife of John Stevens, brother of Matthew Stevens, his lordship's steward; that lady Grosvenor being then in the country, he advised her to return to London, and gave her a letter to Mrs. Moleworth, at Craven hill, near Kensington, to take care that she did not want any thing, and he would call and satisfy her; that he gave her money for her expences, seemed very fond of her, toyed with her, kissed her  
lips



lips many times, and took other liberties with her person, but nothing criminal, as she was not well at that time. That she returned to London and went to the lodgings of the mother of Polly Jones, who lived with Charlotte Hayes; that Charlotte Hayes hearing where she was, sent Polly Jones to persuade her to come back to her house in Duke street, which she accordingly did. That in about two months lord Grosvenor came to town, and visited her at Charlotte Hayes's, went up with her into a bedchamber, seemed very fond of her, but expressed much displeasure at her conduct in not going to Mrs. Moleworth's at Craven hill, and said this evidence had several letters of his, which could not be of any service to her, and therefore requested she would return them; but as Charlotte Hayes had always advised her to keep such letters, and not by any means to return them, she went down stairs to consult her, that Charlotte Hayes then advised her to give lord Grosvenor his letters, which she did; whereupon lord Grosvenor and she lay down upon the bed together, and he then committed the crime of adultery with her, and had the carnal use and knowledge of her body, for which he gave her *five guineas*, and then he went away.

This evidence also deposed to meeting lord Grosvenor in his coach, as deposed to by Mr. Vernon, about October 1767, and to meeting him a day or two afterwards by appointment, on the walls of Chester, that he gave her some money to bring her to London, assuring her, that if he could meet with a snug private place in London, he would keep her, but he was afraid his wife would discover the connection if not managed with secrecy. That lord Grosvenor often told her, he hoped and wished to be divorced from lady Grosvenor, that he had a great dislike to lady Grosvenor, and had rather kiss the lips of this evidence at any time, than lie with lady Grosvenor, his wife.

Elizabeth Ellifon, wife of Edward Ellifon, aged thirty three years, refused to depose as to what related



ed to herself, not being by law obliged ; but deposed, that lord Grosvenor and Mary How never lay together at her house.

Mary How, of Muckingford, spinster, aged twenty one years, deposed, that in May 1768, being at the house of Mrs. Lisle in Glassonbury court, Long-acre, a gentleman came into the room where she was at work, and soon after went away. Mrs. Lisle said the gentleman was lord Grosvenor. He came three times in the course of a week or ten days, but whether he lay with her, or had the carnal use and knowledge of her body, she was not obliged by law to answer.

Elizabeth Elmes, wife of John Elmes, formerly Elizabeth Newton of King-street, in the parish of St. Ann's, Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, aged nineteen and upwards, deposes and says, that she knows the right honourable Richard lord Grosvenor, party in this cause, and hath known him for about three years past, and first came to know him by frequently seeing him at public places, in company with other gentlemen ; and from the time the deponent first knew his lordship, he used to call her *by the name of Hornpipe* ; that in the month of May 1769, she, the deponent, went to Epsom races in a post chaise, and saw the said lord Grosvenor upon the race ground in his phaeton, in company with Sir Thomas Frederick ; that the deponent ordered her chaise to drive up by the side of the phaeton, when the said lord Grosvenor seeing the deponent, said to Sir Thomas Frederick in the deponent's hearing, " There is Hornpipe !" and his lordship spoke to the deponent, and desired Sir Thomas Frederick to get out of his phaeton, and go to the other lady in the deponent's chaise ; and he also desired the deponent to get into his phaeton, and ride round the course with him, which the deponent agreed to, and got into his lordship's phaeton accordingly, who drove on, and soon afterwards overturned the phaeton ; upon which the deponent being much frightened, said she would go immediately to the King's head at Epsom, which his lord-



lordship agreed to, and said as soon as the race was over he would come to the deponent there ; that the deponent went to the King's-head inn at Epsom, accordingly, and between the hours of eight and nine o'clock that evening, which was Tuesday, his lordship came to her, and they supped together there ; after which, about eleven o'clock that night, they retired together to a private house, opposite the inn, where a bed was provided ; and the said Richard lord Grosvenor, and the deponent undressed themselves, and went into bed together, naked and alone, where they remained for upwards of an hour, and had the carnal use and knowledge of each other's bodies, and committed the crime of adultery ; after which his lordship left the deponent in bed, *and gave her five guineas*, then went away. That one night, in the month of April 1770, she, the deponent being in bed at her lodgings in King street, Soho, was sent for about twelve o'clock by lord Grosvenor to a house the upper end of Bowstreet, Covent garden, then kept by one Betty Johnson, but the deponent not being very well she refused to go ; that his lordship sent three times afterwards the same morning for the deponent, and at last, about six o'clock in the morning, she went with the said Betty Johnson, who came herself, to the said lord Grosvenor, at the said Betty Johnson's house in Bowstreet aforesaid, and she found his lordship in bed there, in a back room up one pair of stairs ; and at his lordship's request, she, the deponent, *stripped off her cloaths and went to bed to his lordship*, where they continued together naked and alone in such bed, 'till near four o'clock in the afternoon ! and committed the crime of adultery together, *and they breakfasted and dined in bed*, and Betty Johnson served them with what they had, and his lordship gave the deponent *five guineas*. That she believes the ministrant is about six or seven and thirty years of age, a moderate sized man but rather tall, long visaged, dark complexion, a large nose, and marked with the small pox ; that she knows the person she was so connected with to be lord Grosvenor,



by having many times heard him spoke to by people as such, and by calling him by that title herself when in company with him; that Sir Thomas Frederick was with lord Grosvenor when the respondent met him on Epsom race ground as aforesaid, and a lady, since dead, whose name was Ann Wilmot, was in company with the respondent; and the said Betty Johnson saw them in bed together, at her house in Bow-street.

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*Lady Grosvenor's recrimination prevented his lordship from obtaining a divorce. Recrimination in the Ecclesiastical Law makes a bar. Women may have a divorce in the Ecclesiastical Court from a husband, on a proof of his having committed adultery, as well as the husband a divorce from the wife on her committing adultery. If one sues for a divorce, and the other recriminates, by the rule of the Ecclesiastical Law, no divorce can be given. They are both equally guilty, and the Law does not interpose.*

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TRIAL OF  
**Mrs. CATHERINE KNIGHT,**  
 WIFE of HENRY KNIGHT, Esq;  
 For ADULTERY with,  
 AND HAVING A  
 FEMALE BASTARD CHILD by  
**JOHN NORRIS, Esquire.**  
 MEMBER of PARLIAMENT for RYE, in SUSSEX.

*The Libel was given in to Doctor's Commons, May 17th, 1770.*

**M**ISS Catherine Lynch, daughter of the reverend John Lynch, doctor in divinity, and dean of Canterbury, was married to Henry Knight, Esq; the 22d of March 1762. Mr. Knight had  
 three



three sons and one daughter by his wife ; a son in 1763, another in 1764, a third in 1765, and the daughter in 1767. In 1765 Mr. Knight hired a house at Ripple, near Deal in Kent, and Mr. Norris passing part of that year at Deal Castle in Kent, of which he was governor, Mrs. Knight and he became acquainted, which produced an adulterous correspondence between them. In the beginning of 1768 Mr. Knight went to his seat in Glamorganshire, to be present at the general election, leaving his wife at his house in Welbeck street, Cavendish square. While absent he received several most affectionate and tender letters from her, but on the 10th of April, to his great surprize, he received a letter from her of a very different nature. This letter informed him of her wish to live separate from him. On receiving this unexpected epistle, he instantly came up to London, on his arrival he found his wife had absented herself ; but after the most diligent enquiries, he found her at Canterbury about the middle of April. He affectionately solicited her to live with him again, leaving it to herself to name any conditions of reconciliation ; but all his solicitations were ineffectual. She declared that her determination was fixed, otherwise she never would have written the letter she sent him ; and added, she no longer loved him, and would no longer live with him.

The evidences in this cause were,

James Davies, servant to Mrs. Knight, aged thirty years.

Elizabeth Davies, his wife, cook to Mrs. Knight, aged thirty seven years.

Meliora Eaton, servant to Mr. Norris and Mrs. Knight, when they went by the name of Johnson, aged twenty seven years.

Mr. Thomas West, apothecary, Mount street, Hanover square, aged thirty years.

Mr. Richard Thomson, surgeon and man midwife, Terrace, Oxford street, aged thirty five years.

Jane Freeman, nurse, aged fifty years.



Three or four years before this trial, James Davies had known Mr. Knight and his wife, by living as a servant in Welbeck street, where they also lived. On the 8th of January 1769, about nine months after Mrs. Knight had eloped from her husband, she hired him as a servant. She then lodged at the house of Mr. Thomas Robson, hatter, the corner of Charles street, Grosvenor square, and remained there till July, and then she went to live at Ham common in Surry, in a ready furnished house. At both these houses, Mr. Norris frequently came at different hours of the day, evening, and night, to visit Mrs. Knight; they always appeared very loving, generally calling each other, *my dear*. This evidence, once or twice, when he went into the dining room to wait upon them, saw them sitting together on a couch, in a very loving attitude, with the legs of one across the legs of the other; and had also seen Mr. Norris put his arms round Mrs. Knight's neck and kiss her; and often when they have been together in the dining room, and he wanted to go in he had found the door fastened, so that he could not get in.

Mrs. Knight's bedchamber joined this dining room, and between them was a door of communication, Mr. Norris was often in Mrs. Knight's bedchamber with her, when she was unwell, being subject to fits. One night he went into her bedchamber at ten o'clock at night, and did not come out again till seven in the morning, as he was told; for he only sat up till four in the morning, when Mrs. Knight, by her maid, sent to tell him he need not sit up any longer, as Mr. Norris had gone away.

Davies's wife deposed to their living together in a very familiar manner, toying with and kissing each other, calling one another, *my dear*, and other loving names. One day, while they lodged at Mr. Robson's, Mrs. Knight being unwell, went to bed in the afternoon, Mr. Norris came about seven in the evening, and went into the room, and about an hour or two after, when this evidence carried in some broth, Mrs.

Knight



Knight was in bed quite undressed, and Mr. Norris was lying on it in his cloaths, by her side; Mr. Norris tasted the broth, and said it was not good enough for Mrs. Knight. About half an hour after this Mr. Norris sent his servant Henry Wright to his own house for two pillows, which were put upon Mrs. Knight's bed by her maid Jane Barber. That next evening the evidence assisted Barber in making the bed, and then Mr. Norris's two pillows were the only ones on the bed. Mr. Norris had continued in Mrs. Knight's bedchamber all night, and went away about seven next morning. Mrs. Knight had sent Jane Barber at four in the morning to tell the husband of this evidence to go to bed, which he did; and at five o'clock Barber came to bed to this evidence, and told her that she had left Mr. Norris and Mrs. Knight together.

At half after seven this evidence was called out of bed to get Mr. Norris's sword out of the dining room, he having sent his servant for it; that she then found Mrs. Knight's bedchamber door open; that she asked of Mr. Norris's servant how long his master had been at home, and he replied about half an hour.

The evidence left Mrs. Knight about a fortnight after she went to Ham common, about which time she appeared bulky, like a woman with child, and the evidence thought might have about three months to go with child; that in her conscience she believed Mrs. Knight and Mr. Norris carried on a criminal correspondence, and had carnal knowledge of each other, and committed the crime of adultery together: and that the child with which she was then big, and of which she was afterwards delivered in Park street Grosvenor square, as the evidence had been told, was begotten on her body by Mr. Norris..

Davies, the husband of the above evidence, also said, that he and the other servants, in May 1769, suspected Mrs. Knight to be with child, as she grew more bulky than usual; and that when he quitted her service about the end of July 1769, it was certain she



was with child, it being visible to every body that saw her; and he further deposed, that in his conscience he believed, from the circumstances he had mentioned, that Mr. Norris and Mrs. Knight had at various times carnal knowledge of each other, and committed the crime of adultery together; and that the child was begotten on her body by Mr. Norris. That Mr. West was Mrs. Knight's apothecary, and frequently attended her: that he had carried letters from Mrs. Knight to her husband, but that he never brought any answer back.

Mr. West, the apothecary, deposed, that he first knew Mrs. Knight in spring 1769, while she lodged at Mr. Robson's; that she then went by the name of Mrs. Knight, and often had medicines of him; that he had often seen her ride out with Mr. Norris, whom he also knows; that about July last she went to Ham common, where she staid till the end of October, then returned to town, and took lodgings in Park street Grosvenor square. That about the beginning of November last, he was sent for to attend one Mrs. Johnson in Park street, and found the lady that went by the name of Johnson to be Mrs. Knight. She was troubled with a bilious complaint, and at the same time big with child. He often visited her twice a day, and often saw Mr. Norris in her bedchamber and in other rooms of the house; and had also seen Mr. Norris, who then went under the name of Johnson, salute Mrs. Knight as his wife, and behave to her with great fondness and familiarity. That on the 15th of November 1769, being then on a visit to her, and being in waiting in an adjoining room, her nurse came to him and told him her mistress was in labour, on which he instantly went for Mr. Thomson, a man midwife, and he and Mr. Thomson instantly came to Mrs. Knight's lodgings, but she had been delivered in his absence of a female child. That Mr. Thomson attended her as man midwife, and he attended as apothecary; that he often saw Mr. Norris in her bedchamber during her lying in. That about



six weeks after her lying in she quitted her lodgings in Park street, and went back to Ham common, where he attended her two or three times; and that at Ham common she went by her real name of Mrs. Knight.

The end of October 1769, Meliora Eaton was hired by Mr. and Mrs. Johnson, then living in Park street. She lived with them seven weeks. That for five weeks of the time her master and mistress lay together, naked and alone in one and the same bed, night after night; she had seen them often in bed together, naked and alone, when she was attending her mistress; she therefore believed in her conscience that they had carnal use and knowledge of each other's bodies. Her mistress was very big with child, and was delivered of a female child whilst the evidence lived with her; that Mr. Thomson man midwife assisted at the delivery, and Mr. West attended as apothecary. That she was certain the lady she then lived with, who went by the name of Johnson, was Mrs. Knight, and she believed the gentleman who passed for her husband was John Norris, Esq;

Mr. Thomson man midwife deposed, that Mr. West the apothecary applied to him November 15th 1769, to assist a lady then in labour, at a house in Park street, whose name was Johnson; that on coming into the room he found the lady just delivered of a female child; that he attended her about a fortnight, and often saw a gentleman with her, who went by the name of Johnson, and who passed for her husband; that the gentleman used to go into the lady's bedchamber, and they behaved to each other as man and wife; that Mr. West had informed him that their real names were Norris and Knight; that he had lately seen the gentleman who went by the name of Johnson, and the gentleman had informed him that his real name was Norris, that the lady's name was Knight, wife of Mr. Knight.

Jane Freeman deposed, that on the 16th of November 1769, she was sent for by Mr. Thomson man midwife, to attend a lady of the name of Johnson who

was



was laying in. She went, and found the lady had been delivered the night before of a female child. She remained with her upwards of a fortnight; the lady then quitted the house in Park street, and the evidence was discharged. She deposed that a gentleman was almost constantly with the lady, who passed for her husband. While she lived with them, some of the people of the house told her the gentleman's real name was Norris. She had also lately seen the gentleman and the lady, and they had informed her that his name was Norris, and that the lady's name was Knight, and that she was the wife of Henry Knight, Esquire.

Sentence of divorce from bed board and mutual cohabitation passed in the usual form.

## TRIAL OF

Mrs. SARAH HORNECK,  
Wife of CHARLES HORNECK, Esq;

For ADULTERY with

JOHN SCAWEN, Esq;

*Libel given in to Doctor's Commons, November 17th, 1775.*

MISS Sarah Keppel, spinster, of the age of twenty years, the natural daughter of the late right honourable Gorge, Earl of Albemarle, was married the 31st of May 1773, to Charles Horneck, Esq; at St. Martin's church, by the reverend Mr. Justamond.

Immediately after their marriage they went to the house of John Scawen, Esq; at Risby in Suffolk; this gentleman was an intimate friend, and had been a school fellow of Mr. Horneck's. There they staid a fortnight, and then came back to London to the house of Mr. Horneck's brother in law, William Henry Bunbury Esquire, in Saville row. There they



they remained two months; after that they went abroad for three months, then returned to London; from thence went to Bath, and in January 1774 came to the house of John Scawen Esq; in Cork street Burlington Gardens, till they could be provided with a suitable house. It was in this house that the criminal correspondence was first supposed to commence, and here it was first discovered about the middle of March; on which Mr. Horneck went to live at his mother's in Portman street, after informing his wife of his suspicions of her virtue; and the same day Mrs. Horneck left Mr. Scawen's, and went to live at the right honourable the countess dowager of Albemarle's, the elder, in New street Spring Gardens; from whence about a fortnight after, she eloped with Mr. Scawen, and went the grand tour. The evidences were,

Jane Stewart, widow, aged thirty six years, servant to Mr. Horneck.

Richard Stevens, aged twenty three years, servant to Mr. Scawen.

Philip Lefevre of Calais, courier, aged thirty eight years.

Uursule Antoinaite Serres, spinster, aged twenty four years, Mrs. Horneck's maid.

Stewart deposed, that about the middle of March 1774, Mr. Horneck and Mr. Scawen both dined out, and Mrs. Horneck dined at home by herself, and between seven and eight in the evening went to bed, being as she said not well. This evidence attended Mrs. Horneck on her going to bed, and before she had left the room Mr. Scawen came home, and went into the dining room adjoining to Mrs. Horneck's bedchamber, and opening the bedchamber door, asked Stewart if her mistress was worse; to which she replied she believed she was. Mr. Scawen then went back into the dining room, and the evidence left Mrs. Horneck's bedchamber; but in a quarter of an hour she returned, and on trying to go in, found the door fastened; she then went down stairs again, but came back in a few minutes, thinking that the door might have



have only stuck, and was not really fastened; on attempting to open it a second time she found it was fastened; after waiting a minute it was unlocked, and as she entered, she saw Mr. Scawen go out of the bedchamber by another door which went into the dining room, and Mrs. Horneck was then in bed. On the evidence going in, Mrs. Horneck said she would get up, which made Stewart ask, why she would get up, when she had been so short time in bed? Mrs. Horneck answered, she was tired of lying in bed; and got up and dressed herself, and went into the drawing room to Mr. Scawen. As this evidence did not examine the bed or bed cloaths, she could not say, whether Mr. Scawen had or had not been in, or upon the bed with Mrs. Horneck.

Next morning when she was assisting Mrs. Horneck to dress, Mrs. Horneck asked her, what time Mr. Scawen had come home the night before. On this she the evidence asked, if she had not seen Mr. Scawen? Mrs. Horneck said she had not, till she had dressed herself again, and gone into the dining room where he was. The evidence then said that Mr. Scawen had opened the bedchamber door to her, when she came into the room. At this Mrs. Horneck seemed somewhat surprised and disconcerted, and said to her that she must have been in liquor, when she imagined she saw any such thing. This evidence also enquired why Mrs. Horneck had locked her bedchamber door? and she replied that Mr. Horneck had been at home, and said to her that Mr. Scawen and Dr. Goldsmith were to come and spend the evening in her bedchamber; to this the evidence answered, that Mr. Horneck had not been at home from the time he went out to dinner, and that Dr. Goldsmith had not been there at all. Mrs. Horneck then told her as above that she must have been in liquor.

Immediately after this, as Mr. Horneck was coming out of Mr. Scawen's house in Cork street, he saw a servant of the dowager countess of Albemarle's deliver a letter to Stevens, Mr. Scawen's servant. Mr.

Horneck



Horneck looked at the direction, and seeing it to be his wife's hand writing, and addressed to John Scawen Esq; he insisted on having it, and that he would stand the consequence of opening it. Accordingly he took the letter from Stevens, opened and read it; and that day left Mr. Scawen's house. Stevens was informed that the letter was from Mrs. Horneck, and that it contained an appointment to meet Mr. Scawen at his own house that evening. Mrs. Horneck the same day went to lady Albemarle's in New street Spring Gardens, where she staid for the few days she remained in England.

About the 21st of March, at nine at night, Stevens by desire of Mr. Scawen, went with a hackney coach to lady Albemarle's, and carried Mrs. Horneck to Westminster bridge, where Mr. Scawen was waiting with a post chaise and four, in which they went off for Dover, where they arrived next morning, and that day crossed the channel to Calais, and next night lay at the English hotel, monsieur Dessein's. Mr. Scawen and Mrs. Horneck that night lay in the same room together, passing for man and wife. The morning after that they left Calais, having hired Philip Lefevre to travel with them as a courier. They reached Paris in two days, and staid there about ten days. During their stay at Paris Mrs. Horneck hired Serres on March 28th 1774; and April 1st Mr. Scawen and she, attended by Stevens, Lefevre, and Serres, set out for Lyons, where they staid eight or nine days; from thence to Marsailles, where they staid eight or nine days; then took shipping for Leghorn, but contrary winds obliged them to land at Toulon; from thence they went by land to Antibes, and went in a felucca to Genoa; then by land to Leghorn, and after three or four days stay there, to Pisa, and then to Florence, where they arrived the 21st of May 1774, and remained there, and at a country house in the neighbourhood three miles from Florence, till the beginning of September. At Florence Lefevre left them and returned to Calais. Lefevre paid all their

ex-



expences on the road, and always provided lodgings for them, but never provided but one bedchamber for them, and they lay sometimes in a room with only one bed in it, and sometimes in a room with two beds, therefore he believed they often had carnal knowledge of each other, and committed the crime of adultery together.

When Lefevre left them at Florence, they hired an Italian servant to supply his place.

From Florence they went to Sienna, and from Sienna to Rome where they staid three weeks; after that they went to Naples, where Stevens left them and returned by sea to England. About the 1st of January 1775 Stevens saw Mr. Scawen and Mrs. Horneck in bed together at Naples. Mr. Scawen hired a house at Naples, and they remained there four months. They went a tour of two months to Sicily and Malta, leaving Serres behind at Naples. When they returned from this tour they left Naples, on the 11th of April 1775, for Rome, taking Serres along with them, where they staid a fortnight, then went again to Florence, to Bologna, to Modena, and after that travelled through Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and French Flanders to Valenciennes; where they arrived the 9th of June, and at this place Serres quitted her service, and went home to Paris. During the whole time Serres staid with them they passed for husband and wife; they constantly lay in one room together; and she knew they generally lay naked and alone together in one and the same bed; she had frequently seen them in bed together; and therefore she believed they often had carnal knowledge of each other.

While Serres was at Naples, she was told by the valet of an English gentleman there named Thompson, that her lady who passed for Mr. Scawen's wife, was not his wife; and lady St. George, in whose service she has since lived, told her that she had seen and known the lady called Mrs. Scawen both at Naples and Florence, while Serres was in her service there,  
and



and then knew that her name was not Scawen but Horneck, and that she was the wife of a Mr. Horneck, a young gentleman, an officer in the King's guards; and therefore that John Scawen, Esq; and Sarah Horneck, had been guilty of the crime of adultery together.

Stevens also deposed, that in this present month of November, he went abroad again to attend Mr. Scawen, whom he found at Brussels on Wednesday the fifteenth instant, and Sarah Horneck was then with him, and went by the name of Scawen; that they remained at Brussels three days after he arrived, and lay every night in the same room together, in which room there was only one bed; that he attended them from Brussels to Calais, and they were three days on the journey; the first night they lay in one room with two beds in it; the second night in a room with only one bed in it. When they came to Calais he again left them, and went to England on business for Mr. Scawen, but on the morning before he set out, Mr. Scawen ordered him to find out Philip Lefevre, who lived at Calais; that he returned to tell Mr. Scawen he could not find Philip Lefevre; that both times Mr. Scawen was in bed with Mrs. Horneck; the first time he heard them both speak, and the second time saw them both in bed together, and their cloaths lying by the bedside; from all which he believed, that Mr. Scawen and Mrs. Horneck frequently had the carnal use and knowledge of each other's bodies, and committed the crime of adultery together.

Philip Lefevre also deposed, that on the 20th of November, hearing that Mr. Scawen and the lady passing as his wife, had returned to Calais, he waited on them; when Mr. Scawen said he wanted him to go to England for him, and then sent him to the post office to enquire for letters; that he returned to the hotel d'Angleterre to let him know there were none; Mr. Scawen not being up he went into his bedchamber to deliver his message, and to carry in an empty trunk, and there saw Mr. Scawen, and the



lady called Mrs. Scawen, in one and the same bed together, and their cloaths lying by the bedside in chairs; and therefore he believed they had carnal knowledge of each other, and committed the crime of adultery together. That in the course of his journey with them through France and Italy, he had been told by different English servants, at different times and different places on the road, that they were not man and wife, and that the lady's name was Horneck, and that she was the wife of captain Horneck, an officer in the King of England's guards, and in the same regiment with John Scawen, Esquire.

Sentence of divorce from bed, board, and mutual cohabitation, passed in the usual form.

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TRIAL OF

Mr. SAMUEL ROBINSON,

For ADULTERY,

And for Cruelty to his Wife MARTHA ROBINSON,

And for twice communicating to his said Wife

The FOUL DISTEMPER, OR VENEREAL DISEASE.

*Libel given in to Doct<sup>r</sup>'s Commons, January 26th, 1775.*

**M**R. Samuel Robinson was married to Martha Harrison, spinster, the 21st of August 1762. For the ten years immediately before his wife brought this suit against him, he had been a mahogany merchant of considerable eminence, being possessed of from fifteen hundred to three thousand pounds on mortgages, &c. of a great stock of timber, and clearing annually from six to seven hundred pounds, clear of all deductions, outgoings, and expences whatsoever.

It was declared in the libel, that he was of a lewd, vicious, and debauched temper and inclination, and

of



of a cruel disposition, and frequently ill treated and abused his wife, and kept company with divers lewd, wicked, and debauched women, reputed common women of the town, and of having carnal knowledge of them; by which means he frequently contracted the venereal disease, and had of course frequent occasion to apply for a cure to a physician or surgeon; that at such times he had confessed he had contracted the said foul distemper by his intercourse with common women; that he had twice communicated the foul distemper or venereal disease to his wife, and had taken her to a physician or surgeon to be cured; that he frequently threatened to murder her, if she mentioned the nature of her disorder to the servants or others; and that his wife Martha in September 1769, was so ill of the venereal disease, that her life was despaired of by the physician and surgeon; and for all these reasons, she prayed right and justice to be effectually administered.

The witnesses in this cause were,

Mr. Jonathan Wathen, of Bond's court Walbrook, surgeon, aged forty five years.

Sarah Jones, of White Horse yard, Coleman street, sister to Martha Robinson.

William Armstrong of Mill street, near Dock-head, Bermondsey, Surry, schoolmaster, aged twenty eight years.

Elizabeth Dods, wife of John Dods, Colchester street, Whitechapel, aged thirty nine years.

John Bisset, of Fore street, Cripplegate, cabinet maker, aged forty five years.

George Davis, Old Jewry, gentleman, aged twenty years.

Sarah Jones, sister to Mrs. Robinson, deposed, that she had been acquainted with Mr. Robinson for fourteen years last past. She first knew him by living as a servant with the late Mr. Samuel Seabroke, cabinet maker, Houndsditch, to whom Mr. Robinson was apprentice; that her sister Mrs. Robinson was of a mild obliging temper, and of a religious and virtu-



ous life and conversation, and had at all times behaved to Mr. Robinson as a dutiful and indulgent wife; that Mr. Robinson was of a lewd, vicious, and cruel disposition; that Mrs. Robinson had often complained of his ill-treatment of her, and shewn her divers bruises she had received from him.

About eight years ago Mr. Robinson sent for this evidence to his house in Hounsditch, and told her, he believed her sister was dying, that he was a damned rogue for what he had done, for he had given her the bad distemper, and to cure it without its being known, had given her some powders mixed in a glass of wine, which had swelled her so, that he feared it would be impossible to get it down. At that time he sent for Mr. Wathen, the surgeon to cure his wife; and he had often confessed to this evidence that he had given his wife the foul disease no less than three times.

That Mr. Robinson's bad conduct to his wife made it hazardous for her to cohabit with him, or to render him conjugal rites but at the danger of her life; that Mrs. Robinson left her husband in November 1769, and went as a servant to Mrs. Derby of Sunbury, in Middlesex, with whom she remained two years; and then Mrs. Derby recommended her to Mr. Delamar, at Church gate, Chesshunt, in Hertfordshire, where she lived as an upper servant more than three years, till October 1774; that while Mrs. Robinson lived in Mr. Delamar's family she was greatly caressed by them all on account of her good behaviour; that in October 1774, Mrs. Robinson came to this evidence's house No. 7, White Horse yard, Coleman street, London, in great distress, Mr. Delamar having discharged her, on account of her husband's disturbing her. Her sister continued with her till next evening, when Mr. Robinson came, and said he was just come from Mr. Delamar's at Chesshunt, and insisted on his wife's going home with him, which she at first refused, and beseeched him that she might have leave to get her bread without being troubled by him; but he persisted, put on her hat and cloak, and forced her to go with him



to his house in Houndsditch. It was then about ten at night. That when Mrs. Robinson left her husband, with the advice of her friends and relations, she took the name of Clarke, her mother's maiden name, on purpose to conceal herself from her husband.

Mr. Armstrong deposed he was cousin german to Mrs. Robinson, that he had visited her several times when she lived at Mr. Delamar's, and that her conduct was much approved of by all that family; that in October last, when she came to her sister's, she cried very much, and complained that she had been obliged to leave her place, her husband having been there to demand her; that the next night her husband came and obliged her to go home with him, telling her if she did not go peaceably he would force her to go; and that he obliged her to go with him, contrary to her free will and desire.

Mr. Bisset, cabinet maker, deposed that he had known Mr. and Mrs. Robinson ten years; that he had seen him knock her down with his fist, and threaten to beat her brains out, that Mr. Robinson had for six years lived with one Peggy Walton; that Walton had lived in lodgings taken for her by Mr. Robinson, and also in his house as his kept mistress; that he believed in his conscience that Mr. Robinson and Peggy Walton had often the carnal use and knowledge of each other's body, and committed the crime of adultery together; that she had been brought to bed of four children, two of which Mr. Robinson owned to be his; one of them had died about four years ago, and Mr. Robinson employed this evidence to make the coffin for it, and paid him for it; that two years and a half ago, Mr. Robinson invited him to the christening of one of these children, that he was present, and the child was baptized as the daughter of Mr. Robinson, and that Peggy Walton at that time assumed the name of Robinson, and appeared as Mr. Robinson's lawful wife; that the child was then alive, and acknowledged, supported, and maintained by Mr. Robinson as his daughter.



Mr. Davis deposed to the copy of the entry of the marriage taken from the register book of the parish of Christ church, Middlesex.

Elizabeth Dods deposed to Margaret Walton lodging in her first floor, to her being brought to bed there, and to Mr. Robinson's often visiting her ; but did not know any thing of his owning or maintaining the child as his ; and had never seen any thing to induce her to believe they had committed adultery together.

Mr. Wathen deposed, that he had known Mr. Robinson eight years ; that his first knowledge of him commenced by his applying to him to be cured of a gonorrhœa or clap ; that within the space of two years after this first application, Mr. Robinson applied two or three times afterwards to him to be cured of the like disorder ; that the first time he came, he said he was afraid he had given it to his wife ; and desired Mr. Wathen to attend on her and cure her, which he accordingly did. That at three different times after that, he attended her, she being afflicted with the same disorder, which appeared to Mr. Wathen to be fresh contracted. At each of these different times Mr. Robinson owned he had got such disorder, had communicated it to his wife, and had desired Mr. Wathen to attend and cure her, which he did ; that Mr. Robinson paid him for these cures ; and that at one of the times Mrs. Robinson appeared to be in great danger of her life ; and a physician who was sent for, and who attended her with Mr. Wathen, almost despaired of being able to complete her cure.

Mr. Fountain, proctor for Mrs. Robinson, on the 17th of May 1775, alledged that Samuel Robinson had been a mahogany merchant for ten years ; that his stock of timber on hand amounted to between two thousand five hundred pounds and four thousand pounds ; that he had annually cleared from six hundred to seven hundred pounds, after all outgoings and expences were paid ; that he possessed of leasehold and personal estates, and mortgages and other sufficient securities



Adultery, and for Cruelty to his WIFE. 143

curities to the value of between one thousand five hundred pounds and three thousand pounds, over and above considerable sums of money due to him as book debts.

Sentence of divorce from bed, board, and mutual cohabitation passed in the usual manner.

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TRIAL OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

Lady Viscountess LIGONIER,  
WIFE of EDWARD Lord Viscount LIGONIER,  
For COMMITTING ADULTERY with  
Count VITTORIO ARMADEO ALFIERI,  
A PIEDMONTESE NOBLEMAN.

*The Libel was given in to Doctor's Commons, June 27th, 1771.*

MISS Penelope Pitt, daughter of George Pitt, of Stratfield Say, in the county of Southampton, Esq; was married, at Paris, the 16th of December 1766, to lord Ligonier. Miss Penelope was then only sixteen years of age. The marriage was solemnized in the chapel of the right honourable the earl of Rochford, then English ambassador at Paris. The ambassadors chaplain the reverend Thomas Fountain performed the ceremony, in the presence of James Kerr Esq; Miss Pitt's uncle, Stanier Porten Esq; secretary to the ambassador, colonel Lancelot Baugh of the guards, now general, and others. At this time lord Ligonier had not succeeded to the title, he was then only Edward Ligonier Esq. He is now earl Ligonier; and Miss Pitt's father is now lord Rivers. Three weeks after the celebration of the marriage the married couple set out for England.

The



The libel set forth that lord Ligonier was a person of a very sober and modest disposition, and of a very regular and virtuous life, and had always behaved to lady Ligonier with the greatest love tendernefs and affection; but that Penelope, lady Ligonier, was a person of a vicious and lewd disposition, and that forgetful of her conjugal vow, and instigated by the devil, and her own wicked lusts, had, for sometime past, given herself up to, and led a very vicious, debauched and adulterous life; that about March 1771 becoming acquainted with count Vittorie Armadeo Alfieri, they very often walked and had private conversation together; and their meetings became so notorious, that lord Ligonier, though not suspicious of any criminal commerce between them, did out of the greatest regard, and with the most tender affection for his wife, caution her against appearing so frequently alone with the count, and behaving so familiarly with him; for though he was not jealous, nor entertained the least suspicion of her virtue, yet her character might suffer from the censorious part of the world. To this serious advice, her ladyship replied with a laugh that when she happened to meet the count, she entered into conversation with him merely out of compassion, for as he could speak but little English, and that very badly, he had but few people to converse with. Notwithstanding this kind and tender admonition, lady Ligonier continued to meet the count, and to walk alone with him in St. James park, Hyde park, and various other public places, and to converse with him in a very free and familiar manner; and on Sunday the fifth of May last, that is about seven weeks before this libel was given in, she introduced the count into his lordship's house at Cobham, after it was dark, secreted him sometime in a bed room, and after her waiting woman was gone to bed, conducted him up to her own bed-chamber, where she and the count went into bed, and there lay naked and alone together, for about three hours, and committed the foul crime of adultery together; as they both

after-



afterwards confessed to lord Ligonier, the husband, and to George Pitt Esq; the father of the said Penelope, viscountess Ligonier.

The manner in which the amour was conducted will best appear from the depositions of the several witnesses,

Lancelot Baugh Esq; aged forty two years deposed to the marriages of Miss Pitt with Edward Ligonier Esq; now lord Ligonier.

Thomas Johnson, post boy, aged sixteen years.

William Pepper, aged twenty-three years, servant to lord Ligonier.

Nathaniel Sandy, aged thirty years, servant to lord Ligonier.

Robert Lander, aged forty years, ostler, at the George inn, Cobham.

John Weitley of Cobham, aged forty-four years, gardener to lord Ligonier.

George Pope of Cobham, aged thirty-two years, victualler, master of the Tartar public house.

Ann Heath, widow, aged forty-seven years, mistress of the George inn, Cobham.

Ann Mitchlet, otherwise Chevalier, wife of Antony Mitchlet, or Chevalier, aged thirty-two years, lady Ligonier's woman.

Ann Bartholomew, aged twenty-one years, servant to lord Ligonier, and then to lady Ligonier.

Lydia Stockdale, aged twenty years, chambermaid at the Rose inn at Dartford in Kent.

Munnings Cape, aged twenty-seven years, waiter at the Rose inn at Dartford.

Elizabeth Chilton, widow, aged thirty-nine years, servant to lord Ligonier.

William Fletcher, of Cobham, house steward to lord Ligonier, aged thirty-six years.

William Wood, of Cobham, groom to lord Ligonier, aged twenty years.

Mr. John Wilkinson of Chancery lane, aged twenty-three years.

Miss



Miss Frances Ligonier, spinster, aged twenty-seven years, sister to lord Ligonier.

Ann Nicholls, widow, aged thirty-nine years.

Thomas Byrne, Peruke-maker, Porter street, aged sixty years.

Mr. Oliver Farrer, of Chancery lane, aged twenty-eight years.

Pepper deposed to lady Ligonier's frequently walking out into St. James's park, Hyde park, and other places, attended only by himself, he being her footman; at these places she was constantly met by count Alfieri, and her ladyship and the count walked together and had private conversation together. These walks were during the months of March and April 1771.

About the end of March a foreign gentleman came to the Griffin inn at Kingston in Surry, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and ordered a post chaise for Cobham in Surry. This foreign gentleman had a servant with him also a foreigner. Johnson the post boy drove this foreigner (the count) and his servant to the White Lion inn at Cobham. Johnson heard the servant belonging to the inn say, that the gentleman was gone to see lord Ligonier's gardens. The gentleman was absent two hours. When he returned to the White Lion, Johnson first drove him back to the Griffin at Kingston, and from thence to the end of Suffolk street, Haymarket, London, where, he set him and his servant down.

On Sunday afternoon the fifth of May the same foreigner came a second time to the Griffin in a chaise, but without a servant, and ordered a chaise for Cobham, at this time the foreigner was disguised very much in his dress, having on an old blue cloth great coat, a round post boy's hat, and one of his arms bound up in a black crape sling; notwithstanding this disguise, Johnson recollected him to be the same person he had drove to Cobham in March. In fact for an Italian the count was very remarkable; for he has very red, or carrotty hair; this in particular occasioned



oned Johnson to know him again; this evidence also remarked that under his old blue great coat, he had a very handsome coat, and was very smart about the legs and feet, having on clean white silk stockings, and neat shoes and buckles. Johnson drove him from Kingston, and within half a mile of Cobham was ordered to stop, and set him down, not far from the Tartar, a little public house on the road side. When the count got out of the chaise it was about nine o'clock in the evening. From Johnson's evidence it would appear that he did not want to stop at the Tartar, for he said, he told the gentleman there were no stables there; but the foreigner in reply said he knew there were, and ordered Johnson to wait his coming there, adding that he should come back in three or four hours. The place where the count got out was on the top of the hill, before he came to the Tartar; he crossed the road over a stile, at the end of the Tartar garden, and went towards Church Cobham the nearest way to lord Ligonier's house. Johnson then went to the Tartar and put up his horses; and next morning between three and four o'clock, being Monday May the sixth, the foreigner came back to the Tartar, and ordered Johnson to be called out of bed to get the chaise ready. Johnson was going to pay for the horses, but the foreigner expressed himself as well as he could in broken English, that he would pay for all, and did so. Johnson about four o'clock in the morning drove him from the Tartar to Kingston, and he gave Johnson three shillings and six-pence for himself; and in Johnson's hearing, on setting out from Kingston to London, directed the post boy who was to drive him, to set him down at Charing cross.

We shall now state lady Ligonier's conduct on the fifth of May, which will shew what became of the count from nine in the evening of the fifth of May to three o'clock in the morning of the sixth being the whole of the time he was absent from Johnson the post boy.

Lady



Lady Ligonier set out from his lordship's house in North Audley street for his lordship's country seat at Cobham, in company with Miss Graham, on Sunday morning the fifth of May. His lordship did not go that day with her ladyship, his duty as aid de camp to the King, required his attendance at the review made by his Majesty on Monday the sixth of May. When her ladyship arrived at his lordship's house at Cobham, she asked John Weitley the gardener for the key of a gate in the gardens, which gate opened at the bottom of a lawn into the road, and which was generally kept locked.

Nathaniel Sandy, one of his lordship's servants, walking in the fields on the evening of the fifth, Sunday, between eight and nine o'clock, saw a post chaise stop on the top of the hill, before it came to the Tartar, a little public house near Cobham, and saw a person come out of it; on which he went to the Tartar, and the post boy soon after coming up, he enquired who came in the chaise, and where the person that had come in it was going. When these questions were asked Pope the landlord of the house was present. The post boy answered, it was a foreign gentleman who had ordered him to wait at the Tartar for three or four hours, and he believed the foreigner was gone to lord Ligonier's. Whilst the post boy was saying this, Sandy saw the foreigner cross the road, over a gate, at the end of the Tartar garden, and go towards Church Cobham; he instantly followed, overtook, and passed him; he then observed the gentleman was disguised in his dress, which he described in the same manner as the post boy did, Sandy also took exact notice of his person. He then went on towards Church Cobham to inform William Fletcher, lord Ligonier's steward of what he had heard and seen of this foreigner in disguise, and on the way met William Woods, his lordship's groom, and desired him to watch the disguised gentleman, while he went to the steward's.



Accordingly Woods followed the foreigner, and saw him pass a gate way, that leads into lord Ligonier's park, about two hundred yards up the road, to where the road from Cobham divides into two, both of which lead towards Down common. The person in disguise took one road, and woods the other; but placed himself so as to see him if he returned. The disguised person did immediately come back, went down the way he came up towards the gate way, that leads into his lordship's park. On this Woods mounted over the rails into the Park to catch him when he came over, but it being at that time almost dark he lost sight of him.

Whilst this was going on, Sandy got to Mr. Fletcher's, and informed of the circumstances as above mentioned; he then returned to lord Ligonier's where he arrived about half after nine o'clock, and acquainted William Pepper, lady Ligonier's footman, with what he had seen, and desired him to be careful to fasten the doors and windows, when he carried up candles, it being lord Ligonier's orders always to do so when candles were carried up, Sandy was the more particular in his directions, because he suspected the person in disguise was somewhere about the house.

Pepper between nine and ten o'clock carried up candles to the room where lord and lady Ligonier generally sat; Miss Graham was then alone in the room lying on a couch; and lady Ligonier was walking in the pleasure grounds, though it was so late. Having carried in the candles, he went round the house, and shut and bolted all the windows and doors, except the south door. In particular he shut the north door, which opens from the saloon into the garden, and which is half door, half window, the window shutting down upon the door, and he closed the shutters, and put the large iron bar across, and hasped it.

It was particularly observed by the servants that lady Ligonier, contrary to her usual custom, was walking in the pleasure grounds that evening, till it was quite dark.



About a quarter before ten o'clock, Woods, being on the watch, walking before the north door, and going close up to the steps, and looking through the ballustrades, saw the window shutters open, and also lady Ligonier coming towards the door with a candle in her hand, on which he ran away.

All these watchings imply that the servants entertained very strong suspicions of her ladyship's virtue.

About ten, or a little after, Sandy being very anxious to discover where the disguised gentleman was gone, went to Cobham, and made enquiry at the White Lion, and the George, the only two inns in the place, if any such person was at either of these inns, or if he had bespoke lodgings at either of them, but could hear nothing of him.

Ann Mitchlet, lady Ligonier's woman, used constantly to warm her ladyship's bed, to put her ladyship to bed, and never to quit her till she was in bed. About twelve o'clock on this night, she was ordered by her ladyship to warm the bed very warm, and after that immediately to go to bed herself, and not wait for her ladyship's going to bed; for her ladyship said, she was going to roll Miss Graham's hair in her bed-chamber, and that it would be a troublesome job. Mitchlet accordingly warmed her ladyship's bed, and then went to bed herself.

Sandy deposed, that he believed in his conscience, that lady Ligonier after it was dark in the evening of the fifth, admitted the disguised foreigner, whom he believed to be count Alfieri, into the house, and secreted him there; and that lady Ligonier and count Alfieri lay together, and had carnal use and knowledge of each other's bodies, and committed the crime of adultery together; for about one o'clock on the morning of the sixth, having still strong suspicion that the count was in or about the house, he went round it with Pepper to examine if the doors and windows were fast; the south door they found fast; but at the north door, which opens from the garden into the

faloon



saloon, they found the iron bar unhasped and taken down, the window shutters were close, but the windows not down by an inch and a half, though Pepper had carefully shut them as already mentioned. They fastened all up again and then went to bed.

It does not appear from the evidence, whether the servants, on finding the north door had been opened, thought the count had been with her ladyship, and was gone off again; or whether they imagined he was still in the house, but did not chuse to intrude themselves into her ladyship's apartment; but it is probable they thought he had paid his respects to her ladyship and had made his retreat, by their immediately going to bed. However the sequel will shew, that the count was then with her ladyship, in the state bed, in the room next the saloon.

Between six and seven o'clock in the morning of the sixth, Mr. Fletcher the steward coming from his own house to lord Ligonier's, to his great surprise found the garden gate that opens at the bottom of the lawn into the road, open; he had gone through it the evening before, and was absolutely certain he had locked it afterwards.

There were only two keys to this gate; the steward had one, and the gardener used to keep the other; but her ladyship on the fifth, had asked the gardener for his key, and it was then in her possession. This circumstance, and that of the north door of the house being found open, explain, both how the count entered, and how he made his retreat; and also how her ladyship eluded the very active vigilance of the servants.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the sixth, Sandy after having informed the steward of the several occurrences of the preceding evening and night, went with Wood, the groom, to endeavour to make farther discoveries. They first went into the garden to survey the sand walks, which had been new laid down, and swept over on Saturday the fourth of May, against lord and lady Ligonier's coming down. On



the walks they saw plainly the print of a lady's foot, and also the print of a man's foot; on which they went and brought the steward, when they also saw similar prints of the lady's and man's feet at the garden gate that opens from the lawn to the road.

About eleven o'clock in the forenoon, Sandy, who appears to have been all activity and vigilance, went to the Tartar, to enquire after the disguised gentleman.

Pope the landlord told him, that the gentleman returned there between three and four o'clock in the morning, that he had no buckles in his shoes when he came, that he had drank a glass of rum, that he had behaved very well on going away, that he could not tell what the gentleman had been about, and that he had gone off in the post chaise towards Kingston. This intelligence rendered Sandy more suspicious than ever; as soon as he got back, he went into the saloon to look at the north door again, and again he found the window not down by an inch and a half; this excited him to continue his scrutiny: on going into the bed room, next the saloon, where the state bed was, and in which no person had lain for more than three months, after opening one of the shutters, he saw the carpet at the bottom of the bed much rumpled, and two large dints at the bottom of the bed, as if two persons had sat on it; the middle of the bed appeared as if some person had lain upon it; and a little above the middle of the bed there was a round place, about the size of a persons head, all covered with powder. On seeing this he went and fetched the steward and Pepper, that they might also see the condition of the bed. Elizabeth Chilton on the morning of the fifth had dusted and cleaned the above bedchamber, and had also dusted the bed, and the counterpane which was on the bed, and had left the room, the bed, and the carpet at the foot of the bed all clean and smooth.

It was between eleven and twelve o'clock before lady Ligonier got up on the forenoon of the sixth, though her usual time of rising was between eight and  
 nine



nine in the morning. Ann Mitchlet called her ladyship many times that morning, and was much surprised she lay so long in bed. After lady Ligonier had got up, Mitchlet, missed the under sheet of the bed where her ladyship had lain, and Chilton coming to make the bed, Mitchlet told her that in warming the bed the night before she had burned a hole in the under sheet, and then gave her another to put on the bed, and desired her not to mention it to any body. The missing sheet was never found.

On this day, the sixth, lord Ligonier arrived at his house at Cobham, and on Tuesday morning the seventh, Sandy, after consulting with Fletcher the steward, informed his lordship of all the circumstances abovementioned. Mitchlet said, that a great disturbance and confusion arose in the family, when the criminal intercourse between lady Ligonier and count Alfieri was discovered to lord Ligonier, and that a chaise was got ready to carry her ladyship to her father's, Mr. Pitt, at Stratfield Say, Hants; and his lordship ordered another chaise to be got ready to carry him to town. Mitchlet on the discovery being made wanted much to see lady Ligonier, but could not find her in the house.

Her ladyship at this time was at the George inn, for Hoath the landlady and Lander her ostler, deposed that her ladyship came there on foot between three and four in the afternoon, called for pen, ink, and paper, went into the bar room, wrote a letter, sealed it, and ordered Lander the ostler to take post horses, and with all possible dispatch, carry it to count Alfieri, to whom the letter was addressed, and that no answer was required. Lander carried the letter to No. 29, Suffolk street, Haymarket, and delivered it to a foreign servant about six o'clock in the evening.

Between four and five o'clock lady Ligonier returned from the George, and that evening, her ladyship and Mitchlet went to London in a post chaise, instead of going to Stratfield Say as was at first intended. On the road lady Ligonier informed her woman, that



after lord Ligonier had declared, he knew of her intercourse with count Alfieri, she went to the George inn at Cobham, and wrote a letter to the count, acquainting him that lord Ligonier *knew all*, and requesting the count to avoid his lordship; that she had sent the letter by express to London.

We now return to lord Ligonier, who set out in a post chaise from Cobham for London, in search of count Alfieri. His lordship arrived at his house in North Audley street, between seven and eight o'clock in the evening of the seventh, and instantly, even without taking off his boots, went into Bond street, where he took a sword from a sword cutlers, and then went to the Opera house.

Byrne, a box keeper at the opera house, deposed, that lord Ligonier, between seven and eight o'clock came to the Opera house, and enquired of him, if count Alfieri was in the house. Byrne said he did not know, but a foreign gentleman had gone into the house, either with the prince or princess Mazarano. On this his lordship went into the boxes; he was quite in an undress, and had his boots; and almost immediately returned in company with a foreign gentleman; that in less than an hour the foreign gentleman came back to the Opera house alone, and then had one of his arms in a sling.

Sandy who attended his lordship saw the engagement; lord Ligonier and the count, from the Opera house went to the Green park, where they fought, and his lordship wounded the count in the arm; after which the count confessed to his lordship, that he had been at his house at Cobham on Sunday the fifth, and lain with lady Ligonier in his lordship's bed. Next day, Sandy carried home the sword to the cutlers, where lord Ligonier had borrowed it.

That evening lady Ligonier, on her arrival in London, went to Miss Ligonier's lodgings, at Mrs. Nicholl's in New Norfolk street, Hanover square.

Between ten and eleven at night count Alfieri came to lady Ligonier, and on entering the room, ex-  
claimed,



claimed, "*I fini affair. I have seen my lord, he made me go out of the Opera house with him, and follow him to the Green park, we fought, I attacked him in the most furious manner, he knew the rules of fighting better than myself.*" Lady Ligonier then asked the count if Lord Ligonier was safe. He replied he had not hurt him, adding he had confessed the whole to his lordship. Lady Ligonier said she had confessed nothing. To which the count answered, when a man tells another every circumstance that happened, how can it be denied. After this Miss Ligonier went out of the room and left them together.

Mitchlet after seeing lady Ligonier to Miss Ligonier's lodgings went to lord Ligonier's, but on Wednesday the 8th of May, she went back to New Norfolk street, to see her ladyship, expressed her concern at what had happened, and declared to her ladyship, that if she had known of the count's being at Cobham on the fifth at night, she would have prevented the discovery for that time. But lady Ligonier replied, "*inaced you could not have parried it off, for if it had not happened then, it should have happened another time.*" Mitchlet then said, that if she had seen the count in lady Ligonier's bed chamber, she should have supposed he came there to see Miss Graham, and not her ladyship. To this lady Ligonier replied, "*Miss Graham knew nothing of the count Alfieri's being there that night.*" And on Mitchlet farther observing, that if she had known any thing of the matter, she might by proper representations to her ladyship have prevented the misfortune. Her ladyship answered, "*indeed nothing would have prevented it; for, I was resolved it should happen.*" And then her ladyship told Mitchlet, that she let the count into his lordship's house at Cobham by the saloon door, at nine o'clock on Sunday night the fifth, and concealed him in the red room. Her ladyship added, that the night before, that is the night of the seventh, she had confessed every thing to her father Mr. George Pitt, and



and that every thing was so clear, that there would not be any occasion for advocates.

Mr. Wilkinfon of Chancery lane went with George Pitt, Esq; on Friday morning the 10th, to Mrs. Nicholls in New Norfolk street; where also they found count Alfieri. Mr. Pitt asked the count if he had any of lady Ligonier's letters to him; the count said he had one, and gave Mr. Pitt a letter dated at Cobham, on Monday the fifth at three o'clock, which began with " *Mi lord fait tout; My lord knows all.*"

This evening when Miss Ligonier went home at ten o'clock, she went immediately into the dining room, where she found the count and lady Ligonier alone together, without candles; and saw lady Ligonier rising from the count's knee. Miss Ligonier ordered candles to be brought, which being done, she went away, and left them together alone. Lady Ligonier staid to the 17th at Mrs. Nicholl's; the count almost daily visited her, was often alone with her for hours together, and one evening in particular, from six till near twelve at night, they were alone together for several hours in the dark without any interruption, and never called for candles.

On Saturday the 11th, in the evening, George Pitt Esq; and Mr. Wilkinfon went to the count's lodgings in Suffolk street, to enquire if he had not got some other letters of lady Ligonier's; but the count was then gone to New Norfolk street, they followed, and found him there, when Mr. Pitt asked him if he had not other letters, the count gave him another, which he said he had received from lady Ligonier's own hands.

Lancelot Baugh, Esq; deposed to lady Ligonier's hand writing, as did Mr. Farrar.

On Friday May 17th, lady Ligonier went from New Norfolk street, attended by Ann Bartholemew, in a post chaise, and William Pepper on horseback, with an intention to go to France by the way of Dover. At Shooter's hill they were met by count Alfieri, and then her ladyship resolved to stay there all night;



night ; but as beds could not be got, they went forward to the Rose inn at Dartford, Bartholomew and Pepper following them in another chaise, with the count's servant on horseback. The count and her ladyship remained at the Rose inn till Monday the 20th. On the morning of that day count Alfieri and lady Ligonier returned to Shooter's hill in a post chaise ; Bartholomew and Pepper following in another, and the count's man on horseback. Here Ann Bartholomew left lady Ligonier, she not chusing to go abroad. In the afternoon of the same day, lady Ligonier and another lady, returned to Dartford, and Pepper and another maid servant followed them. At Dartford they eat some cold meat, and then went in post chaises to Rochester, and in the evening count Alfieri overtook them at Rochester on horseback.

Ann Bartholomew deposed, that when they came to Dartford, she went up stairs in the Rose inn to see the bedchambers. Her ladyship's bedchamber was the back room up two pair of stairs, and the count's bed chamber on the same floor fronting her ladyship's ; that though separate beds were ordered, yet count Alfieri lay every night with lady Ligonier, as she in her conscience believed ; for on the morning of the 20th she went into her ladyship's bedchamber at nine o' clock, an hour sooner than she usually went in, and on drawing back the curtains to speak to lady Ligonier, she saw count Alfieri and lady Ligonier in bed together, naked and alone, and she believed that they had had the carnal use and knowledge of each other's bodies, and had committed the crime of adultery together.

Lydia Stockdale the chambermaid at the Rose inn, deposed, that on Friday May 17th, in the evening between ten and eleven o'clock, a foreign gentleman and a lady, whom she has since been informed were the count Alfieri and the viscountess Ligonier, came in a post chaise to the inn, and ordered beds ; that they remained till Monday the 20th ; that during their stay, the count's bed was very little tumbled, and very



ry seldom lain in by him ; that on Sunday the 19th, about three in the morning, the count Alfieri's coachman came to the inn, and said he must speak to his master, and between four and five o'clock in the morning would have him called ; on which she went with him to the count's bed room, and he staid at the door while she went in, but the count was not in bed, which was not in the least tumbled, though his coat and waistcoat lay in a chair by the bed side. She then told the coachman his master was got up, but she did not know where he was gone ; that the coachman being impatient to see his master, she went back two or three times to his room, but he was not returned ; that she tried to open the lady's room door, but it was fastened ; that the last time she went it was between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, when she found the count in bed, and delivered the coachman's message, and then the count ordered him up stairs. That on the 20th the count and lady Ligonier, she believed both got up about ten o'clock ; that she carried the count a glass a water, who was then in the lady's bed-chamber in his night gown, and her ladyship was dressing ; that the count had not lain in his own bed the preceding night, for it was not in the least tumbled, and the pillow was not in his bed ; but on making the lady's bed, she found the count's pillow in her bed ; that every morning they were at the inn, she saw the count in the lady's room ; from all these circumstances, she believed, though separate beds had been ordered, that the count went every night during their stay, to bed to lady Ligonier, and that they lay together part of each night naked and alone in the same bed, and had the carnal use and knowledge of each other's bodies, and committed the crime of adultery together.

Cape the waiter at the Rose inn, deposed, that on her ladyship getting out of the chaise, she asked him if they could have beds ? to which he answered, yes. He then asked if they wanted one or two beds ? and she lady said two ; and then turned round to the gentleman



cleman and laughed. That before they went away again the man servant that attended them, told him, that they were count Alfieri, and lady Ligonier; that on Monday they went back to Shooter's hill, and in the evening lady Ligonier and another lady came back to the Rose inn, with the man servant that had been with them before, and a new maid servant; that after the ladies had eat some cold meat, they went on to Rochester; that soon after they were gone, count Alfieri came to the Rose inn on horseback, and a servant with him; he did not alight, but rode on towards Rochester after the chaises.

Sentence of divorce and separation from bed board and mutual cohabitation passed in the usual form.

TRIAL OF

Mrs. KATHERINE NAIRN

AND

LIEUTENANT PATRICK OGILVIE,

FOR THE

Crimes of INCEST and MURDER.

BEFORE THE

High Court of JUSTICIARY in SCOTLAND,

On the 5th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th days of Aug. 1765.

ON the 30th of January 1765, Thomas Ogilvie of Eastmiln in the county of Forfar, Esq; was married to Miss Katherine Nairn, daughter of Sir Thomas Nairn of Dunsinan, baronet. Mr. Ogilvie was then about forty, and Miss Nairn between nineteen and twenty years of age. About the time of this marriage, lieutenant Patrick Ogilvie of the 89th regiment, a brother of Mr. Ogilvie's, returned from the East



East Indies, and took up his residence at his brother's house at Eastmiln.

Very soon after her marriage, even within a fortnight, Mrs. Ogilvie fell into a course of indecent familiarities with her brother in law the lieutenant, which soon became the subject of observation and deep regret to her friends and family, and at last to her unhappy husband; and notwithstanding the repeated admonitions given both to her and lieutenant Ogilvie, they obstinately persisted in their abominable behaviour, till having become objects of just censure and detestation, not only to the family but to the neighbourhood, lieutenant Ogilvie was dismissed from his brother's house, on the 23d of May 1765. On this occasion Mrs. Ogilvie expressed her resentment against her husband, by the most outrageous behaviour, and treacherously and wickedly conspired with his brother to murder him; for which inhuman purpose the lieutenant bought a phial glass of laudanum, and some papers of arsenic, of Mr. Carnagie, surgeon in Brichen, under pretence that the laudanum was for himself, and the arsenic to kill dogs which destroyed the game. The laudanum and arsenic he sent to Mrs. Ogilvie on the 5th of June, by Mr. Andrew Stewart his brother in law, telling him they were medicines for Mrs. Ogilvie, and desired him to deliver them privately into her own hands. Mrs. Ogilvie being previously advised by the lieutenant that he was to send the poison by Mr. Stewart, watched his arrival at the house of Eastmiln, and on his coming took him into a private room, and received from him the fatal articles. Before this, Mrs. Ogilvie with an imprudence that often most fortunately accompanies wickedness, had more than once signified her diabolical intent to Miss Clark, a cousin of Mr. Ogilvie's; and the very night of receiving the poison, said to Mr. Stewart who had brought it to her, without knowing that it was such, that she wished her husband dead: Mr. Stewart after his arrival having discovered to Miss Clark, that he had delivered to Mrs. Ogilvie  
some



Some medicines from the lieutenant, Miss Clark disclosed her apprehensions of danger to Mr. Stewart and Mr. Ogilvie's mother, and Mr. Ogilvie was cautioned not take any meat or drink from his wife, except what he saw others taking. Mr. Ogilvie, his wife, and mother, Mr. Stewart, and Miss Clark, supped together that night; Mr. Ogilvie was in his ordinary state of health, and went to bed at the usual time. The next morning, the 6th of June, breakfast was set in the parlour earlier than usual, Mr. Ogilvie not being then out of bed. Mrs. Ogilvie filled out the first of the tea into a bowl, which she said she was going to carry up to her husband, but instead of carrying it straight to her husband, she went into a closet adjoining to his bedchamber, where she remained some time, and there wickedly mixed the poison with the tea; she then carried it to her husband and pressed him to drink, which he unfortunately did. Soon after he got up, and appeared to be in his ordinary state of health, and went out among his servants and tenants; but before he got back to the house, and within an hour after he had drank the tea, he was seized with a violent reaching and vomiting, and having got into the kitchen, he continued sometime there in great distress, till he was helped up to his own room, and laid in bed, where he remained reaching, vomiting, and purging with such violence, that he sometimes appeared convulsed. In the intervals of his distress he said to his friends and others around him, that he had been poisoned by the bowl of tea given him by his wife; and, having called for water, Anne Sampson, the maid servant, brought it to him in the same bowl, on which he rejected it with horror, exclaiming, "*Damn that bowl, for I have got my death out of it already!*" and ordered the tea kettle to be brought up, for he would drink out of nothing else. Having continued in the above described dreadful situation for several hours, his tongue swelled, and his mouth became so parched and dry that he could hardly speak. During this alarming illness



Mrs. Ogilvie not only endeavoured to prevent his friends and neighbours having access to him, but when pressed by Mr. Stewart to send for a surgeon, she obstinately resisted that proposal till near sunset, at which time her husband appeared to be very low and near his end. Mr. Meik, surgeon at Alyth was then sent for; he came with all dispatch, but before his arrival, Mr. Ogilvie was dead, having expired about twelve at night. Some days after when it was proposed to open the body and inspect it, Mrs. Ogilvie appeared like one distracted, and cried out, "*What will I do!*" Lieutenant Ogilvie being apprized of his brother's death, to whom he was heir, if Mrs. Ogilvie was not with child, immediately came to Eastmiln, and took up his residence there; but he and Mrs. Ogilvie were soon apprehended, and committed to the prison of Forfar, and on the 14th and 15th of June were examined by Mr. Campbell, sheriff substitute for that county. The two prisoners were, in a few days, carried to Edinburgh, where they were first examined, June 22d and 24th, by Mr. Balfour, sheriff substitute for Edinburgh, but they refused to answer the questions put to them. Their trial began on the 5th of August, and lasted several days.

John Gilloch Wright, deposed, that about *a fortnight* after Mr. Ogilvie's marriage, he was sent for to the house at Eastmiln to put some locks and brass work on a drawer; the drawers stood in a room where lieutenant Ogilvie was in bed. When he was at work Mrs. Ogilvie came to the room door, and the lieutenant observing her, desired her to come in. She went in, and said, "*What, are not you up yet?*" she then went towards the bedside, and set down on a little chest, and she and the lieutenant eat some sweet bread together, which had been bought at a market. He observed her hand about the bed cloaths, just upon lieutenant Ogilvie's breast, at which time she said, "*you are not poor, but pretty fat;*" but he did not observe whether her hand was below or above the bed clothes.



clothes. When Mrs. Ogilvie was going out of the room, lieutenant Ogilvie kicked up the bed clothes with his feet, and threw them upon his body ; on which Mrs. Ogilvie said, “ *Ab, you daft dog !*” At that time this evidence saw so much of the lieutenant’s body, that he could judge whether he was a man or a woman. After breakfast Mrs. Ogilvie gave him a dram, and lieutenant Ogilvie, who was then present and dressed another. He did not think, when lieutenant Ogilvie kicked up the clothes, that Mrs. Ogilvie saw *the condition the lieutenant’s body was in*, as she was then going out of the room. The week before Mr. Ogilvie’s death, he went to Eastmilm to do some work, and when he was sawing, Elizabeth Sturrock, a servant in the family, asked him if he knew which way Mr. Ogilvie had gone ? He replied, no ; and asked, why she put such a question ? to which she answered, that lieutenant Ogilvie was expected at Eastmilm that day, and she wished Mr. Ogilvie and he might not meet. On the same evening he saw Mrs. Ogilvie returning to Eastmilm, on the road that leads from Kirktown, and the same night saw lieutenant Ogilvie at Kirktown, which is not a quarter of a mile from Eastmilm.

David Rattray deposed, that he heard it talked in the country, that Mrs. Ogilvie and lieutenant Ogilvie were too familiar together ; that one day he saw them walking arm in arm, in a hollow way near the house of Eastmilm, and at the same time saw the lieutenant kiss Mrs. Ogilvie.

John Lamar deposed, that it was the common report of the country, that lieutenant Ogilvie liked Mrs. Ogilvie too well ; that a dispute arose in the family of Eastmilm from such a suspicion, upon which lieutenant Ogilvie left the house. He knew lieutenant Ogilvie went from Eastmilm about a fortnight before Mr. Ogilvie’s death, and he saw him return to Eastmilm house, the morning after Mr. Ogilvie’s death. While lieutenant Ogilvie lived at Eastmilm, he had often seen him and Mrs. Ogilvie walking arm in arm,



and their arms about each other's neck, even when Miss Clark, and Mr. Ogilvie himself were in company, as well as when there was nobody with them.

Katherine Campbell deposed, that *twenty days* after the late Mr. Ogilvie's marriage, she was sent by lady Glenkilrie, Mr. Ogilvie's sister, to serve as a washer-woman at Eastmiln; that about *fourteen days* after she went, Mr. Ogilvie went to Dunfinnan; that before he went, she observed lieutenant Ogilvie frequently kissing Mrs. Ogilvie, and shewing a great fondness for her. That she said to him, he showed too great fondness for his sister in law, and that it would not be worse if he showed less; to which he replied, that his brother desired him to be fond of her, and keep her chearful. She saw the lieutenant frequently holding Mrs. Ogilvie in his arms whilst he was kissing her. When Mr. Ogilvie was at Dunfinnan, Mrs. Ogilvie slept in a room immediately above the kitchen, where this evidence slept. After she had gone to bed she heard Mrs. Ogilvie say, "*O fy, fy!*" and then she heard the bed move as if somebody had been stirring in it. On hearing this she was in great terror. Next day she found the lieutenant's bed in the same state as she had made it up the night before, no ways discomposed as if no person had laid in it; that the motion she heard, she thought was the motion of a man and woman in bed together, and such as a husband and wife have together.

Anne Clarke deposed, that she was cousin german to the late Mr. Ogilvie, and went to Eastmiln on the 11th of March 1765, (*just thirty days after the marriage*) that when she had been there some little time, she was informed, that Mrs. Ogilvie and the lieutenant were too familiar together. She told Mrs. Ogilvie of this report, and cautioned her to abstain from the lieutenant's company; that notwithstanding this, Mrs. Ogilvie was frequently in a room by herself with the lieutenant.

That on *Sunday the 19th of May*, all the family went to church but Mrs. Ogilvie, the lieutenant, and  
this



this evidence, the two prisoners left her in the lower room, and went to the east room above stairs, which was the lieutenant's room, and immediately over the room in which she was left ; that by the motion of their feet she heard them in the room above, and judged they went towards the bed, after which the noise of the feet ceased ; that she, to discover what was passing, went up stairs, the bed was an alcove bed, the back of which came to the side of the stairs, and there was nothing between the bed and the stairs, but a piece of plaister and the timber of the bed, so that a person standing on the stairs, could hear distinctly what passed in bed ; she stood and listened, and from the motions she heard, was positive they were in bed together, and abusing their bodies together ; by which she meant, they were carnally lying together.

Immediately after she went into the room, she walked to the end of it, without looking into the bed, that when she turned round, she saw the lieutenant standing close to the side of the bed, buttoning his breeches, and at first, she observed his shirt was out ; that Mrs. Ogilvie was in the same bed, that she had on a red and white calicoe bed gown and skirt. The same evening she told Mr. Ogilvie what she had seen and heard, but Mr. Ogilvie made no answer.

That on *Monday (the 20th)* the two prisoners repeated the same thing ; she saw them go out of the lower room, heard them enter the lieutenant's room, and move towards the bed ; then she listened on the stairs, and heard the motions repeated which she had heard on Sunday.

That on *Tuesday and Wednesday, (the 21st and 22d)* she heard them again retire together to that room, and move towards the bed, but she did not on either of these days go to listen on the stairs.

She told Mr. Ogilvie's mother what she had heard and seen, on Sunday night, Monday, and Tuesday.

The deceased Mr. Ogilvie afterwards told her, that his mother had informed him, that Mrs. Ogilvie was troublesome to the lieutenant.



This information occasioned high words between the brothers; at last Mr. Ogilvie ordered the lieutenant out of his house. This was on Thursday (*May 23<sup>d</sup>*). That on the Sunday aforesaid, Mr. Ogilvie was at Glenkilrie; but on the other days was out in the morning with his workmen, when the two prisoners went to the lieutenant's room.

Lieutenant Ogilvie left Eastmiln about three o'clock in the afternoon on Thursday, on his departure, Mrs. Ogilvie went up to the room which had been his, and threw herself down upon a bed, and there fell a tearing and crying, and when her husband came into the room, she ordered him out of it. Mr. Ogilvie told her, that her conduct was improper, and that she would ruin her reputation, by intermeddling in the differences between him and his brother.

Before the Sunday abovementioned, she had often seen improper familiarities between the prisoners, in kissing one another, and the lieutenant having his hand down Mrs. Ogilvie's breast.

That about a fortnight or three weeks after she went to Eastmiln, Mr. Ogilvie, Mrs. Ogilvie, and the lieutenant having been on a visit at Glenkilrie, they all returned in very bad humour, and particularly Mrs. Ogilvie was so, and expressed her dissatisfaction with her husband, and said, if she had a dose she would give it him; but this evidence did not think Mrs. Ogilvie at that time serious in what she said; but that afterwards Mrs. Ogilvie frequently said to her, that she was resolved to poison her husband, and that she intended to get the poison from Mr. Robertson merchant at Perth, or Mrs. Eagle who kept a seed shop at Edinburgh, on the pretence of poisoning rats. This evidence endeavoured to divert her from such a resolution by gaining time; signifying that if Mrs. Ogilvie applied to these people for the poison she would be brought to an untimely end; but that this evidence would go to Edinburgh and get her brother there to buy the poison. This Mrs. Ogilvie approved of, but complained that she was long in putting it in execution,



tion, and therefore proposed to this evidence to speak of it to the lieutenant, as he could get it more expeditiously; but this evidence declined it.

The day the lieutenant was dismissed from the house, Mrs. Ogilvie told her, she had with much difficulty, prevailed on him to furnish her with the poison.

That on *Wednesday*, the day before Mr. Ogilvie's death, Mrs. Ogilvie informed her, that she had received a letter from the lieutenant by Elizabeth Sturrock, acquainting her that he had got the poison to Alyth, but did not chuse to trust it with Sturrock, but would send it by Mr Stewart his brother in law next day; so that she expected it that night. On this she told Mrs. Ogilvie she never believed it would come to that pitch, exhorted her most earnestly against the crime, saying it would bring her to misery both in this world and the next. Mrs. Ogilvie in answer, desired her to let her alone, for she was determined to put her resolution in execution whatever might be the event. The reasons given by Mrs. Ogilvie to her for this inhuman resolution, were, that she did not love her husband, that she never could love him, that he had used lieutenant Ogilvie ill on her account, adding, how happy could they live at Eastmilm, if there were none there but the lieutenant, she, and this evidence.

The same night (*Wednesday*) Mrs. Ogilvie and this evidence went out together, Mrs. Ogilvie expressing impatience for Mr. Stewart's arrival; they did not meet him; but when they returned, they found him sitting with old lady Eastmilm, he having come another way. Mrs. Ogilvie immediately took Mr. Stewart up stairs with her, he staid with her about half an hour, and then came down by himself. She asked him, if he had brought any thing with him? at first, he denied; but on her pressing him, and saying she was sure, he had brought some thing with him; he then said he had brought some drugs for Mrs. Ogilvie. This evidence said "*they were black drugs.*" But Mrs. Ogilvie coming down she could not at that time



explain to Mr. Stewart what she meant by black drugs. That Mrs. Ogilvie and Mr. Stewart having gone out towards Kirktown, she told Mr. Ogilvie's mother, that she believed what Mr. Stewart had brought was poison, for Mrs. Ogilvie had told her he was to bring it, and asked if she should inform Mr. Ogilvie of the particulars; his mother replied it would be improper, for Mrs. Ogilvie would persuade her husband, that it was but laudanum for her own use, and would resent it against this evidence; and that the only proper method that occurred to her was, that both of them should caution Mr. Ogilvie against taking any thing from his wife in private. After this she went to Kirktown to take the advice of the minister what was fit to be done in such a case, but unluckily he was not at home. That Mr. Ogilvie and his wife, and Mr. Stewart, were all in Kirktown at that time, in the house of Fergus Ferguson a tenant of Mr. Ogilvie's who kept a public house. In their way home Mrs. Ogilvie and Mr. Stewart walked on before, on which she signified to Mr. Ogilvie, that it would be necessary for him to leave his own house, for she believed his life was in danger, but did not tell him the danger was from his own wife. Mr. Ogilvie said he could not leave home at that time on account of his business. She said there was danger in the delay; and he replied, he understood what she meant, but he was determined to take nothing his wife gave him, and so would put it out of her power. Mr. Ogilvie's mother that same night both before and after supper, told her, she had cautioned her son to take nothing from his wife.

The same evening this evidence informed Mr. Stewart that she believed it was poison he had brought and also told him her reasons. After Mr. Ogilvie and his wife had gone up stairs to bed, Mr. Stewart, the old lady, and she, had a long conversation how to disappoint Mrs. Ogilvie's design, when Mr. Stewart proposed, that as he knew the drawer in which Mrs. Ogilvie had put the things he had brought her, means  
should



should be used in the night time to get Mrs. Ogilvie's keys and take the things out, or if that would not answer, they might get a tradesman next day as soon as they could get an opportunity, to open the back of the chest of drawers, and so get out the things.

Till that night, being the night preceeding Mr. Ogilvie's death, she had never insinuated to him any suspicions she had of his life being in danger; but she had frequently done so to old lady Eastmilk, his mother; and the old lady said that she likewise was suspicious, because she thought her daughter in law would stick at nothing.

That from the time this evidence went to Eastmilk in March last, Mr. Ogilvie appeared under great distress of mind, on account of the difference between him and his wife; that the day before his death, there had been a quarrel between him and his wife, which had arisen from Mrs. Ogilvie's having given her some cambric to make into ruffles for the lieutenant, who Mrs. Ogilvie said had sent the cambric to her Mrs. Ogilvie: but Mr. Ogilvie declared that a pedler had come that day to the house, and dunned him for the price of it, and that he had refused to pay it.

Next morning Mrs. Ogilvie made tea for breakfast somewhat earlier than usual, that on this evidence coming into the breakfast room she heard Mrs. Ogilvie say that Mr. Ogilvie and Elizabeth Sturrock were well off that morning for they had got the first of the tea. The evidence then said "*What has Mr. Ogilvie got tea?*" His wife answered he had. Mrs. Ogilvie during breakfast went out of the room two or three times, and at length came in and said Mr. Ogilvie was taken very ill. This evidence overheard the servants say he had a purging and vomiting. The old lady desired her to go up and see Mr. Ogilvie, which she did; this was half an hour after breakfast; she continued a very short time in the room, and he appeared to her to be in a dying condition. She came away crying, and Mrs. Ogilvie meeting her, asked her, if she was fast; and she answered, *Mr. Ogilvie*



*is dying.* In about half an hour the old lady desired her to go up again, and keep him from these two women, meaning Mrs. Ogilvie and Elizabeth Sturrock who were then sitting with him. She went up, and continued with him till his death, which happened between eleven and twelve at night. That when she went up he had been purging, but not so violently as before, that he had a most severe vomiting, and always called for cold drink; that he drank great quantities of cold water; that she mixed some with milk but he complained of that, and insisted to have cold water by itself, and then drank some small ale; that she tried him with a glass of wine and a piece of sugar in it, and for about an hour after taking it vomited none; immediately after taking the water or ale he threw it up again. He complained of a burning at his heart, and bitterly of pains in the calves of his legs, said they would rent, and desired her to bind them up for him, which she did; there was a severe heaving at his breast, a strong caw, and he cried to keep open the windows to give him breath; he was constantly in motion, moving his head, his legs, and his arms; in the afternoon he did not speak plain, which she supposed was owing to his tongue having swelled; about an hour and an half before his death he had an intermission of the vomiting, after which he had a severe attack of it, and then fell back on this evidence, who was sitting behind him in bed, supporting him, and expired.

That before one o'clock the day he died, lady Eastmiln said to him, he had broke his promise to her in taking any thing from his wife; that he answered, *it is too late now, mother, but she forced it on me.* That she sent Annie Robertson, one of the servants, to tell Mr. Stewart who had just set out for Alyth, to desire Mr. Meik, surgeon to come to Eastmiln. That lieutenant Ogilvie came to the house at six in the morning the day after Mr. Ogilvie died.

When Mr. Ogilvie was ill, Mrs. Ogilvie seldom came in during the forenoon, but after that she proposed



posed frequently to come if this evidence were dismissed; but Mr. Ogilvie would not agree to it, and Mrs. Ogilvie came near him no more. That the morning after his death she told the lieutenant she knew the whole affair of the poison, and asked him how he could send it; on this the lieutenant appeared under great concern and confusion, and said, *that suppose he had sent it to her, he did not think she had so barbarous a heart as to give it.*

Elizabeth Sturrock late servant to the deceased Mr. Ogilvie deposed, that she had observed too great a fondness between lieutenant Ogilvie and Mrs. Ogilvie, which proceeded even to indecencies, and had often seen them kissing and hugging each other in and about the house of Eastmilm; that the late Mr. Ogilvie used frequently to be from home about his workmen; that in his absence she had often seen lieutenant Ogilvie and Mrs. Ogilvie retire to the upper rooms, that one evening about sunset wanting to speak to Mrs. Ogilvie, she went up to the lieutenant's room, and the door being open, she looked in and saw them both lying in the bed; on discovering them, she run down part of the stairs, and called to her mistress, who answered her, from that room, and the lieutenant spoke to her from the same place. Another time, soon after Mrs. Ogilvie's marriage, and whilst her late husband was at Dunsinnan, she was told pretty early in the morning by Anne Sampson that lieutenant Ogilvie was gone into her mistress's room, upon which she went up to it, and observed lieutenant Ogilvie going from the bedside towards the window in his night gown, that she was sure her mistress was then in bed. That also whilst she has been sitting in the kitchen at work, she has seen them go up stairs together, and then has heard their feet in the room above, and shuffling at the side of the bed. That she believes lieutenant Ogilvie was put away from the house, on Mr. Ogilvie's suspicions of his being too great with his wife; for she overheard Mr. Ogilvie about that time, when he was going to bed to his wife, charge her with being



too great with the lieutenant, and that they were as common as the bell that rings on Sunday; that she saw Mrs. Ogilvie in tears after the lieutenant left the house, and heard her say she was sorry he had left it.

That Mrs. Ogilvie had at different times given her three letters to carry to the lieutenant, after he had left the house; that she brought back answers from him, and always had orders to deliver them privately; one of these letters and the answer she carried immediately before Mr. Ogilvie's death; that on Tuesday and Wednesday before he died, he appeared to be in his ordinary state of health; that on Thursday, the day of his death, she herself was confined to her bed by sickness; Mrs. Ogilvie came into the kitchen where she was lying, and told her in a whisper, that she had given Mr. Ogilvie his breakfast that morning, and desired her to say she had also got her breakfast, although she had then got none; that sometime after she sent her some tea in a bowl, which she drank. That morning, after she had got out of bed, she saw Mr. Ogilvie come in at the outer door, and come forward to the kitchen, that he was then very ill, and vomited much; that Mrs. Ogilvie seeing him ill, desired him to go up stairs to his bed, this evidence helping him to go up and to throw off his cloaths; that after he had been a little time in bed, he thought himself rather easier, but soon turned very ill again, vomiting and purging, and complaining of every part of his body, saying his heart was broken or riven, he also tossed about very much; during his illness he frequently called for and drank cold water; about ten or eleven that forenoon, when old lady Eastmilk his mother, Mr. Stewart, and this evidence were in the room attending him, he said he was poisoned, and that woman, meaning his wife, had done it; his mother reproved him for saying so, to which he answered, it was very true, and his death lay at her door. Mrs. Ogilvie came pretty often into the room in the forenoon to see him, but did not come near him at all in the afternoon; Mrs. Anne Clark, who sat close by him



him, desired her in the afternoon to go down, and tell Mrs. Ogilvie to come up and see her husband; but he said, "*No! No! I do not want to see her.*" Anne Clark desired her to go for all that; she went, but Mrs. Ogilvie said, *she did not like to see dying people.* Mrs. Ogilvie did not chuse the neighbours should have access, for fear of disturbing him, but this evidence went about dinner time, and brought the precentor (*the parish clerk*) to him, who came and prayed with him. Mrs. Ogilvie sent her for the precentor, and went up with him to her husband's room. Mrs. Ogilvie did not shew great marks of grief on her husband's death, till Alexander Ogilvie, the doctor, another of the late Eastmiln's brothers, came to the house on the Tuesday after, and he having refused to speak with her, Mrs. Ogilvie fell a crying and wringing her hands, throwing herself back on the bed, and saying, *what could be the meaning of this?* Alexander Ogilvie stopped the burial, and sent for doctor Ogilvie of Forfar, and the doctors Ramsay and Meik of Alyth, to inspect the dead body of his brother; at this time Mrs. Ogilvie wept, cried, wrung her hands, and tore herself. Lieutenant Ogilvie, when Mr. Ogilvie his brother died, was at Glenkilrie's house, and Glenkilrie having been at Eastmiln when Mr. Ogilvie died, he went home, and desired the lieutenant to go to Eastmiln on that event; the lieutenant came next morning, and this evidence seeing him coming, told Mrs. Ogilvie, who desired her to go and tell him to speak to her in the stable, which he did. That when Mrs. Ogilvie heard the sheriff of Forfar was coming to examine them at Eastmiln, Mr. Ogilvie desired her to say to the sheriffs, that she had seen Mrs. Ogilvie mix up the bowl of tea, which she had given to her husband the morning of the day he died, and also to say, that she, this evidence, had drank some of it before Mr. Ogilvie tasted it, and that she had likewise drank what he had left of it; Mrs. Ogilvie also particularly desired her to say, that she was in the closet with Mrs. Ogilvie when she mixed



the bowl of tea, and that Mrs. Ogilvie gave him some short-bread with it ; Mrs. Ogilvie told her that if she would do this as directed, she Mrs. Ogilvie would stand by her, that no harm should happen to her ; that wherever she went she should go with her, and whilst she had a half penny she should have half of it ; that Mrs. Ogilvie spoke in this manner to her several times ; that lieutenant Ogilvie was present, heard what Mrs. Ogilvie said, and desired her to say as Mrs. Ogilvie directed her.

Anne Sampson, late servant to the deceased Mr. Ogilvie of Eastmilm, deposed, that she more than once observed Mrs. Ogilvie and lieutenant Ogilvie kissing each other, particularly once in the kitchen before her, and another servant maid ; that she had seen them embrace and hug one another ; that when Mr. Ogilvie was out of the house, she had known them retire to a room by themselves ; that when Mr. Ogilvie was at Dunfinnan she heard them speaking together in bed in the room above her, she was then in the kitchen, the ceiling of which not being plaistered, she could hear the lowest voice in the room above ; that on this she desired Elizabeth Sturrock to go up stairs and see what was going on, which she did, but the lieutenant had got out of bed, and she only saw him going toward the window in his night gown, this was about sunrise. That being in the kitchen with her fellow servants Elizabeth Sturrock and Annie Robertson, they heard the laird and lady talking in bed in the room above, the talking began with the lady scolding her husband, on which he desired her to hold her tongue, *for that she and the lieutenant were as common as the bell that rings on Sabbath.*

The morning the lieutenant went away, she saw Mrs. Ogilvie weep both before and after he went.

The morning of the day her master died, she saw her mistress make up a bowl of tea in presence of her mother-in-law and Miss Clark, Mr. Stewart was not then up ; she followed her mistress up stairs, wanting some beef out of the beef stand, and saw her go into a closet  
ad-



adjoining her master's room, she followed into the closet, asking for the beef, her mistress desired her to go down stairs, as she was not yet ready, and said she was always wanting something, and appeared to be in a passion at her ; her master was then in bed. When in the closet, she saw Mrs. Ogilvie stirring about the tea, with her face to the door ; upon what her mistress said to her, she went out of the closet down to the kitchen. Her master when he got up, went first to the stables to see his horses fed, and then to the hill, where he conversed with some of his tenants. On his return she saw him vomiting, and still more when he came into the kitchen ; Mrs. Ogilvie came and ordered Elizabeth Sturrock to help him up stairs, and followed him herself. Being ordered to carry up some clean water for him to drink, she rinsed the bowl in which Mrs. Ogilvie had given him his tea, and carried up the water in it, but on seeing the bowl he cried out, "*damn that bowl, for I have got my death in it already ;*" and bid her carry it out of his sight ; she after that carried up water to him in a tea kettle. She rinsed the bowl because it appeared *greasy and white*, the grease did not wholly come out of it. Mrs. Ogilvie went often to see her husband in the forenoon, but not once in the afternoon, as she had been told, for Mr. Ogilvie sent her at mid-day two miles off, to clip some sheep.

When Mrs. Ogilvie made the bowl of tea in the morning, she saw her put in milk and sugar, but did not perfectly remember if she put in *honey*, or whether she saw honey on the table, the family seldom breakfasted without honey, but she believed the house at that time was out of honey. She returned from clipping the sheep about nine at night, when the other servants told her, *that her master did not want Mrs. Ogilvie up for fear of doing him harm.*

Andrew Stewart, merchant in Alyth, deposed, that the evening before Mr. Ogilvie died, being a Wednesday, he went to Eastmilk, on his arrival Mr. Ogilvie told him he had forbid his brother the lieutenant



the house, on account of his suspicions that his wife was too much taken up in doing things for his brother, and not for himself; he also mentioned some differences he had with his brother concerning money matters. On the Tuesday he had informed the lieutenant that he was to go to Eastmiln next day. That on Wednesday before he set out, lieutenant Ogilvie gave him a small phial glass, containing something liquid, which he said was laudanum; also a small paper packet, which he said contained salts; and desired him to put them into Mrs. Ogilvie's own hands; on the packet was a letter directed to Mrs. Ogilvie, sealed both with wax and a wafer, and round the packet was a loose paper of directions how to use the laudanum. When he came to Eastmiln, at the desire of Mrs. Ogilvie he followed her up to the east room, and delivered the several articles, which she put into a drawer, he did not see her read the letter. Soon after Miss Clark asked him what he had brought from the lieutenant to Mrs. Ogilvie. He said, at first, he had brought *nothing*, because he thought her a person given to raise dissention in families, and because the lieutenant had desired him to put the things into Mrs. Ogilvie's own hand; but Miss Clark pressing him with great earnestness, he at last informed her what he had brought. On this Miss Clark said, she was afraid Mrs. Ogilvie would poison her husband. That soon after Miss Clark, in his presence and that of the old lady, desired Mr. Ogilvie not to take any thing from his wife, except at table. Mr. Ogilvie said, he would not. The old lady joined with Miss Clark in this advice, but this evidence was much displeased with them both, he having then no suspicion of Mrs. Ogilvie's having any design against her husband's life. That same night he heard Mrs. Ogilvie say, she lived a most unhappy life with her husband; that she wished him dead; or if that could not be, she wished herself dead. That he supped with Mr. Ogilvie and the rest of the family that night, and Mr. Ogilvie appeared in his ordinary state of health. This evidence told them he intend-



tended to go away early next day, which occasioned them getting breakfast more early than usual. After supper he had a conversation with Miss Clark on her suspicions of Mrs. Ogilvie's intentions against her husband, in which he proposed, they should either take Mrs. Ogilvie's keys out of her pocket, or break open her drawers at the back, in order to satisfy themselves if what he had brought was poison or not, and that this was the only method to prevent mischief; that Miss Clark did not agree to either of these proposals; and as to himself he had at that time no suspicion that there was any foundation for her fears. At breakfast he saw Mrs. Ogilvie making a bowl of tea, and putting sugar and milk in it, which she said she was to give to her husband, who was then in bed, and she went out of the room with it in her hand.

About an hour and an half after they had begun breakfast, they were told that Mr. Ogilvie had been suddenly taken ill, on which Miss Clark ran up to the room where he was, and soon returned weeping, saying, that Mr. Ogilvie had got a bad breakfast. Then this evidence ran up stairs, where he found Mr. Ogilvie purging and vomiting violently; that he heard him say, that he was all wrong within, and that *he had got what would do his turn*; he called very much for drink, they offered him milk, but he would drink nothing but water; he complained much that he was burning within. This evidence proposed to Mrs. Ogilvie to call a surgeon, to which she would not consent, saying Mr. Ogilvie would be better; but renewing his proposals, she said, she would not for any money that a surgeon should be called, as the consequence would be to give her a bad name from what Miss Clark had said of her. (*If Clark's insinuations had been false, calling in a surgeon would have been the most direct method of disproving them; but the truth was, Mrs. Ogilvie dreaded a discovery of her own guilt.*) Upon this he proposed to send for Mr. Meik, surgeon in Alyth, who was a discreet person, that he would come, and would tell none but her what he thought of her husband's case.



case. To this *she agreed*, and he left her. Before he got far from the house, Robertson one of the girls came up to him, and desired that Mr. Meik might be sent in all haste. That when Alexander Ogilvie this evidence's brother-in-law arrested the corpse, this evidence advised *lieutenant Ogilvie to make his escape if he was guilty*; that he answered, that God and his own conscience knew that he was innocent.

James Millam, tacksmen of the Eastmills of Glenyilla, deposed, that during Mr. Ogilvie's illness he was sometimes in the room with him, particularly about two o'clock in the afternoon, when he asked Mr. Ogilvie *how he was?* Mr. Ogilvie answered, "*very ill.*" He further asked Mr. Ogilvie *what he thought was the matter with him?* to which Mr. Ogilvie answered, "*I am gone, James, with no less than rank poison.*"

James Carnagie, surgeon in Brichin, deposed, that in the end of May last (1765) he received a message from lieutenant Ogilvie to meet him at Colin Smith's Vintner in Breechin. He went and found lieutenant Ogilvie with lieutenant Campbell of the 89th and one Mr. Dickson. Lieutenant Ogilvie took him aside, said he was troubled with gripes, and wanted to buy some laudanum of him, and also some *arsenick* to destroy some dogs that spoiled the game. This evidence answered, he was uncertain whether he had them or not, but would look when he went home; on looking he found some of both, and put up a small phial glass of laudanum, and between *half an ounce and an ounce of arsenick*, both which he delivered to the lieutenant the next day, after having dined with him and lieutenant Campbell in Smith's. When lieutenant Ogilvie was to receive the laudanum and *arsenick*, he took this evidence away from lieutenant Campbell into another room, where this evidence delivered them to him; the price of both was a shilling; the *arsenick* was pulverised; lieutenant Ogilvie asked how to prepare it, and this evidence gave him a paper of directions. He had formerly sold part of the same *arsenick* to people for  
poison-



poisoning rats, and had heard it had the desired effect; that when he sold arsenick to low people he took receipts, but never from gentlemen; and as he knew lieutenant Ogilvie, and had a good opinion of him, he did not ask a receipt from him, although when the lieutenant spoke about it first, he said to him, "*we used to take a receipt for arsenick;*" that the lieutenant answered, "*see first if you have it,*" adding at the same time, "*very good.*" What he sold was *white arsenick*.

Lieutenant George Campbell deposed to lieutenant Ogilvie and Mr. Carnagie's going after dinner into another room for a few minutes; this was on a Friday, after which they went to Phinhaven. Lieutenant Ogilvie staid with this evidence till Monday, then left him, and on the Saturday after he heard of Mr. Ogilvie's death.

Patrick Dickson, merchant in Brichen, deposed, that when lieutenant Ogilvie was in Forfar prison, he went to visit him, when the lieutenant desired him to go to Mr. Carnagie the surgeon in Brichen, and talk to him, that he might not be imposed on by any body. He went to Mr. Carnagie, who informed him, that he had sold lieutenant Ogilvie some laudanum and some arsenick, for which he had received one shilling. He returned to Forfar and told lieutenant Ogilvie what Mr. Carnagie had said, the lieutenant seemed under some concern, and desirous to speak with Mr. Carnagie, without either confessing or denying that he had bought the arsenick. He told lieutenant Ogilvie he had some business then which hindered him to send Mr. Carnagie to him.

Peter Meik, surgeon, deposed, that when he came to Eastmilk Mr. Ogilvie had been dead two hours; Mrs. Ogilvie appeared in great grief, *and desired him whatever he might think he discovered to be the cause of her husband's death to conceal it from the world.* Nobody else was present when she said this. Lieutenant Ogilvie seemed to him to be in great grief also. *Five or six days* after he was called to inspect the body; he observ-



observed the nails and part of the breast discoloured, the tongue swelled beyond its natural size, and cleaving to the roof of the mouth; no part of the tongue beyond the lips, though it did come out beyond the teeth; he had observed the symptoms of the nails and breast after a natural death, but never that of the tongue at the same time, though he had observed the tongue swelled without the other symptoms. Mr. Ramsay, surgeon, was also present, but Alexander Ogilvie the youngest brother of the deceased, would not permit him to open the body, unless Dr. Ogilvie of Forfar was there.

Mr. Ramsay deposed much to the same effect, but thought that every thing in the body, after having been so long dead, would have been in a state of putrefaction; so that he doubted if the poison would certainly have been discovered, though the body had been opened.

Dr. John Ogilvie deposed, that he had heard Eastmiln died the 6th of June; that he had been desired by the sheriff to inspect the corpse; he arrived at Eastmiln about noon June the 12th; he observed the face, arms, and several other parts of the body, were black and livid, and that the nails were remarkably black; the tongue was fast locked by the jaws, so could only observe a small part of it which projected beyond the teeth, which part being the tip, he observed to be white and rough, and of a very unusual appearance. Had the two surgeons that left Eastmiln that morning been present, he believed he should have opened the body; but as they were gone, and it was his own opinion that the body was too much putrified to be opened with safety to the operator; and also that in such a state of putrefaction, no certain signs could have been discovered of the cause of the death by opening the body, he declined to do it. That lieutenant Ogilvie neither desired nor forbid him to inspect the corpse.

Mrs. Ogilvie, indicted by the name of Katherine Nairn, and lieutenant Ogilvie, the two prisoners, called



led several exculpatory evidences, but they deposed nothing material in their favour.

The jury brought in their verdict finding both the prisoners GUILTY OF INCEST. And

Katherine Nairn GUILTY OF MURDER, by poisoning her husband; And

Lieutenant Patrick Ogilvie GUILTY ART AND PART THEREOF.

Lieutenant Ogilvie was executed. He died declaring his innocence of both the crimes for which he was to suffer. It was conjectured he was induced to this denial, from a persuasion that it might save Mrs. Ogilvie.

Mrs. Ogilvie, who was by far the greatest criminal of the two, represented to the court that she was pregnant. Her execution was therefore delayed. She was delivered of a daughter in the jail of Edinburgh, on the 6th of March 1766, being nine months to a very day from that on which she poisoned her husband; and nine days after her delivery, she made her escape out of prison, and fled to France. Those who were concerned in, or connived at, the escape of this most atrocious criminal, deserved the severest punishment which the law could inflict.



T R I A L ' O F  
Mrs. S A R A H W O R G A N,  
Wife of Dr. J O H N W O R G A N,  
For A D U L T E R Y with,  
V A R I O U S M E N,  
And particularly with one R O W E, a married Man.

*The Libel which was dated June 12th, 1768, also stated,  
that she had communicated the Foul Disease to her Husband.*

**M**R. John Worgan and Miss Sarah Mackelcan were married September 1st 1753. They first became acquainted by a brother of Mr. Worgan's, teaching her music.

The manner in which Mrs. Worgan's adulterous conduct was first discovered, is as follows:

About Christmas 1767 Mr. Worgan was seized with a pleuretic fever, and his life being thought in great danger, his sister Mrs. Gregg came up from Betchworth in Surry to attend him, with her companion Miss Jones. Mrs. Gregg did not lie in Mr. Worgan's house in Milman street at night, but came every day; but Miss Jones staid in the house seven or eight days. From Miss Jones's first going to the house, the two maid servants constantly complained to her of Mrs. Worgan's bad management; that bills were brought every day to the house which she secreted from her husband, and that as soon as he recovered he would be arrested; that though Mr. Worgan allowed handsomely, his wife squandered away the money in other things; and that it was a pity their master was not acquainted with his wife's bad conduct.

All this information Miss Jones repeated to Mrs. Gregg, not thinking it prudent to communicate it to Mr. Worgan during his illness.

Mr. Worgan had not the least suspicion of his Wife's abandoned behaviour, for in summer 1767 he said



said to Miss Jones, that he looked upon his wife to be a very virtuous, sober, good woman.

Mrs. Gregg deposed, that Miss Jones had informed her of Mrs. Worgan's conduct as abovementioned, and also that the servants had said, there had been bad doings in their master's house, between their mistress and one Mr. Langshaw, and one Mr. Mully, on this Mrs. Gregg went home to her house in town, and next day sent for Mrs. Worgan's brother, Mr. Richard Mackelcan, sugar refiner, and acquainted him with what she had heard, and also that Mrs. Worgan had pawned her husband's plate, and that he, her brother, had redeemed it. This Mr. Mackelcan owned. Mrs. Gregg then appointed Mr. Mackelcan to meet her at Mr. Worgan's house next Sunday, to enquire of Mrs. Worgan into the truth of the matter. On Sunday before Mr. Mackelcan came, Mrs. Gregg desired to hear the particulars from Elizabeth Hill, and the other servant maid, Eleanor. They both told her, their master would be ruined if he did not look into his affairs, for such numbers of bills were sent in, that there must be much money owing. Eleanor, the nursery maid, said she had caught her mistress in a very indecent posture with one Mr. Langshaw, a deputy of Mr. Worgan's. Mr. Mackelcan being come, Mrs. Gregg, in his presence, charged Mrs. Worgan with imprudent management of her husband's money, insisted on knowing what bills were outstanding, and also charged her with having been improperly connected with several men. Mrs. Worgan denied the charges, but confessed having been improperly connected with one Rowe, also a deputy of Mr. Worgan's.

Mrs. Gregg at that time being January 1768, did not inform her brother, on account of his illness, but went out of town, and returned again the end of February, and inviting her brother to dine with her, she then informed him of his wife's ill conduct. At first Mr. Worgan would not believe her, saying servants were sometimes full of scandal; till Mrs. Gregg shewed



shewed him some of the bills brought to his house for payment, which she had got from Mrs. Worgan.

Since that time Mrs. Gregg believed Mr. Worgan had not bedded with his wife; for after some farther conversation, he hit his hand upon the table, and said *it was fixed for ever.* Mrs. Gregg asked him, *what was fixed?* To which he only replied *it was no matter.* Next morning Mr. Worgan said to her “ *I will never bed with that woman more; for I have laid things together in my mind, and my eyes are now open.*”

Mr. Gregg also deposed to Mrs. Worgan’s hand writing, and that Mrs. Worgan had written a letter to Miss Jones to intercede with her husband for a reconciliation.

Mrs. Sarah Lalauze, wife of Charles Lalauze of Leicestersquare, became acquainted with Mr. Worgan by his teaching her daughter music. Mr. Worgan declined taking any money for instructing her, and on that account the evidence thought herself obliged to him, therefore she visited Mrs. Worgan, and an intimacy commenced. That about July or August 1767 she went to pay a morning visit to Mrs. Worgan at Mr. Worgan’s house, Millman street, Bedford row, Mr. Worgan being then out of town for his health; that Mrs. Worgan seemed greatly discomposed and low spirited, and on being asked what was the matter with her, she said, she had been drawn in to do a very foolish thing, which was to lend Arthur Kimpland, a pupil of Mr. Worgan’s, thirty pounds unknown to her husband; that to replace the money, she had pawned a silver tea chest, and other plate, for which she had paid ten guineas interest.

Katherine Bates, about six years ago lived as a servant with Mr. Morgan, for about nine months; that during that time, Robert Rowe was employed by Mr. Worgan as one of his assistants, Mr. Worgan being an organist. Rowe frequently dined and supped with Mrs. Worgan in the absence of her husband, who, on Sunday’s was at some churches in the city as organist, and on week day’s in summer at Vauxhall; on such  
sup-



occasions no servant was suffered to wait at dinner or supper; sometimes a child of Mr. Worgan's about three years old was with them; Rowe also often came to drink tea when Mr. Worgan was at Vauxhall, the evidence believes unknown to Mr. Worgan. One Sunday when Mr. Worgan was in the city all day, Rowe officiated for him at St. John's chapel, Bedford row, and dined with Mrs. Worgan; soon after dinner this evidence hearing the child cry, and as she thought her mistress call, she attempted to go into the parlour, but found the door fastened; Mrs. Worgan came and opened it, her cap and neck handkerchief almost off, her apron greatly tumbled, and Rowe and she appeared in a very great heat and confusion. She took the child down stairs, and asked him what Rowe had been doing to his mamma, and he said Rowe had been kissing her, and putting his hands about her neck; that soon after Rowe and Mrs. Worgan went to St. John's chapel to attend evening service, Mrs. Worgan first desiring her to sweep the carpet and clean the room by their return; that having great suspicion that Rowe and Mrs. Worgan had been laying with each other, she was attentive to every thing that might discover it; that on sweeping the room, she observed on the floor, some matter, which comes from man in the act of coition; from all which she believed that Rowe and Mrs. Worgan had on that day, carnal knowledge of each other, and committed the crime of adultery together. Several times after when Rowe and Mrs. Worgan dined together alone, the evidence on going into the room has observed them both in great heats, Mrs. Worgan's handkerchief almost off her neck, and her cloaths greatly tumbled; and that towards the latter part of the time this evidence lived with Mrs. Worgan, the said Mrs. Worgan was brought to bed, and after she had lain in about three days, Rowe came up into the bed chamber, where she was then in bed, and kissed her in the presence of this evidence.



Richard Syngé of White Cross street, Cripplegate, upholder, deposed, that he was well acquainted with Robert Rowe, that he died about a year ago in the Fleet prison, being confined for some money concerns that passed between him and Mrs. Worgan; that before Rowe was confined, he told this evidence, that Mr. Worgan's business as an organist, obliged him to be from home on Sundays, he Rowe was often at his house on Sundays, and had often lain with Mrs. Worgan; that the first time he lay with her was one day at her husband's house, when after several liberties had passed between him and Mrs. Worgan, such as kissing each other, and he putting his hand into her breast, she said to him, *that he was going to cuckold the honestest man in the world*; that at that time he had the carnal use and knowledge of Mrs. Worgan in a parlour in her husband's house, and that he often afterwards repeated the same. After Rowe was confined, Mrs. Worgan came to the house of this evidence, to meet Priscilla Vokins, to endeavour to get Rowe released, when Mrs. Worgan said in the presence of this evidence, that if she pawned her rings, she would raise half the money to get Rowe released, if Vokins would find the other half; but the affair was not settled, and Rowe died in prison.

Priscilla Vokins, wife of Joseph Vokins, Cripplegate, deposed, that her son Robert Rowe, had been employed to play the organ for Mr. Worgan; that Robert Rowe her son died in the Fleet prison on the eighth or ninth of November 1767; before he was arrested he told her, that he had been very intimately connected with, and often out on parties of pleasure with Mrs. Worgan, in which they expended great sums of money; that Mrs. Worgan gave him the money to pay these expences; which together with a note of twenty-five pounds which he had given to one Mr. Batty, to pay a debt of Mrs. Worgan's to her butcher, amounted to fifty-seven pounds; that he never borrowed any money of her, but had given her a memorandum of the whole sum, but not a promissory



ry note; that in September or October 1766 her son Rowe was arrested by Mr. Batty for the twenty-five pounds, and not being able to pay, was put into the Fleet and died there; that she believed the promissary note signed R. Rowe to be the hand writing of her son deceased. That she was with her son while in prison almost every day, that he wrote two letters to Mrs. Worgan, charging her with having seduced him, reminding her of their criminal correspondence, and begging her to get him released, and in one of these letters he threatened to discover their criminal correspondence to her husband, if she refused. Mrs. Worgan answered she would contrive to do it soon. That her son when in prison, told her the particulars of his connection with Mrs. Worgan, that he had lain with her several times, as well upon the carpet, as upon her own bed in her husband's house; that during the illness of which her son died, he said that Mrs. Worgan had been the ruin of him, for if she had not first tempted him to be criminally concerned with her, he never would have thought of it; she also deposed to a copy of one of the letters sent by her son to Mrs. Worgan, which had been in the hands of Mrs. Rowe, her son's wife, from the time the original had been sent to Mrs. Worgan, till she gave it to Mr. Worgan, in order to commence this suit.

Elizabeth Rowe, widow of the deceased Robert Rowe, aged twenty-seven years, deposed to most of the above particulars in her mother in law's evidence. Also that a short time before her husband was arrested, Mr. Batty having called on him for payment of the twenty-five pound, she questioned her husband about it, and he informed her that Mrs. Worgan and he had often been out on parties of pleasure, had spent great sums of money, sometimes three guineas a day; Mrs. Worgan supplied him with money for such expences, out of the money given her by her husband for family expences; and that the note given to Mr. Batty was for twenty-five pounds, a debt due by Mr. Worgan to his butcher, which Batty paid, and for which Rowe  
her



her husband had given his note to Batty, to prevent the debt coming to Mr. Worgan's knowledge, as he had given Mrs. Worgan the money to discharge it. That her husband never had any money of Mrs. Worgan but to defray the expences of their parties of pleasure. That her husband not being able to pay the note of twenty-five pounds Mr. Batty put him into the Fleet prison, where he remained till he died. She also deposed to the promissory note being her husband's hand writing. That on his death bed, her husband confessed, that he had often lain with Mrs. Worgan, but that she first seduced him. She also deposed to the letters sent to Mrs. Worgan as stated by the last evidence Vokins, and to the copy of one of them which she had given to Mr. Worgan before the commencement of this suit.

Mr. James de Hagne of Great St. Thomas Apostle, gentleman, aged twenty-eight years, deposed; that he was acquainted with Rowe for several years before and to the time of his death. Rowe being a clerk in the Bank, where this evidence was also a clerk; that generally on Sunday afternoon he played the organ for Mr. Worgan at St. John's chapel; that Rowe invited him to dine at Mr. Worgan's, which he did on two different Sundays, Mr. Worgan being absent; one of these times Rowe kissed Mrs. Worgan, and put his hands into her bosom, at which she appeared much offended, and said if he behaved in that manner she would tell Mr. Worgan; at this time Rowe had been drinking a great deal, and appeared to be in liquor; after the chapel was over this evidence reproved Rowe for his behaviour, and said if he continued it he would certainly be discharged Mr. Worgan's service.

Ann Nichols deposed, that about eight years ago she lived with Mr. Worgan as a servant, for about a month; that Rowe often dined at Mr. Worgan's, and frequently came to see her mistress in Mr. Worgan's absence, and supped with her alone; by his coming in that manner, she and the other servants suspected them of



an improper connection; one evening when the parlour bell rung, as she was coming down stairs, she opened the door almost as soon as the bell rung, when she saw Rowe turned round, and putting, as she verily believed, his shirt into his breeches, and, at the same time, both he and Mrs. Worgan appeared to be very much confused and hot, from which she believed they had carnal use and knowledge of each other, and had committed the foul crime of adultery together.

Mr. John Langshaw, organ maker, aged forty-two years, deposed, that he had known Mr. and Mrs. Worgan ten years; that Mr. Worgan employed him to play on the organ for him; he very often dined and supped with them; once on a Sunday he dined with Mrs. Worgan and Rowe, at Mr. Worgan's house in his absence, that Mrs. Worgan and Rowe talked in a very free and familiar manner together, but he saw nothing to suppose them criminally connected. Mrs. Worgan often told him Mr. Worgan made her his cash keeper. The Sunday he dined with them; after Rowe was gone, Mrs. Worgan shewed him a note of hand for about sixty pounds signed R. Rowe, which she said she had lent Rowe at different times, unknown to her husband, and consulted him how she should get it again; that he advised her to give it to some other person to sue him for it; accordingly she gave it to one Mr. Batty, who got a note of hand for twenty-five pounds from Rowe in part of the debt, payable to Mr. Batty. Rowe not paying this when due, Batty arrested him in October 1766 and put him in the Fleet prison, where he died.

In August or September 1767, this evidence went into the Fleet, and accidentally meeting Rowe, he staid more than an hour with him, in justification of his criminal correspondence with Mrs. Worgan, which he knew this evidence had heard reported, he said she had induced him to it, and confessed he had often lain with and had carnal knowledge of her. Rowe also said, that when he gave the note to Batty, Mrs.



Worgan promised to furnish him with money to pay it, but she had not done it.

After this he saw Rowe several times in the prison, and at one time told him Mrs. Worgan was in expectation of money, and that it was pity he should lie there; therefore advised Rowe to write to Mrs. Worgan that he would inform Mr. Worgan of his criminal correspondence with her, and throw himself upon his mercy, if she did not get him released from prison. Mrs. Worgan afterwards told this evidence that she had received such a letter.

Elizabeth Hill, aged twenty six years, deposed that she went to live as a servant with Mr. and Mrs. Worgan the 30th of November 1767, and lived with them four months; the Sunday after Christmas day, Mr. Worgan was taken ill of a pleuretic fever, and was confined to his bed for three weeks; Mrs. Worgan was then far gone with child; that Mrs. Gregg, Mr. Worgan's sister, came two or three times a day to see him, and he was attended by Miss Jones, who lived with Mrs. Gregg, as a nurse during his illness. This evidence was cook, and one day Miss Jones came into the kitchen, and told her, that Mr. Worgan had been saying to her, that if it should please God he should die, he was very happy he should not leave his family distressed, for he did not know he owed twenty pounds in the world. This evidence then told her, he was greatly deceived in her mistress, for in the little time since this evidence had come to the house, she had taken in bills to three times twenty pounds; that among such bills were, *the baker's, butcher's, a hosier's, a mercer's, and a brazier's.*

That next day Mrs. Gregg and Miss Jones came to her, and she repeated what she had said, and added, that Mrs. Worgan was not so good as she should be, with regard to men, for once on going unexpectedly into the parlour, where she and one Langshaw, a deputy of Mr. Worgan's then were, she found Mrs. Worgan sitting with her arm round Langshaw's neck, and her hand in his; that on her opening the door, and dis-



discovering them in that situation, they appeared much confused and discomposed.

Two or three days after this conversation, Mrs. Gregg said she was going out of town, that she would pay the bills when she returned, that if other bills came, to keep them, or give them to Mrs. Clarkson, another sister of Mr. Worgan's, but not to let Mrs. Worgan know any thing of the matter. Mrs. Gregg went out of town for a month, during which several other bills were brought in, which the evidence gave to Mrs. Clarkson. On informing Mrs. Gregg of this, she talked to Mrs. Worgan a great deal, and was very angry with her; and the second day after her coming to town, which was about the 17th of February, she invited Mr. Worgan her brother, to dine with her, and informed him of the whole affair. This evidence also deposed, that Mrs. Worgan was of a very violent temper and disposition, and much given to swearing and using wicked words, and had often in her hearing, sworn at Mr. Worgan her husband to his face.

Samuel Nicholls, hackney coachman, deposed, he had known Mr. and Mrs. Worgan *eight or nine years*, and that his wife, Anne Nicholls, had lived as a servant with them; he also knew Robert Rowe, and often, *about a year or two* after he knew Mrs. Worgan, she took his coach off the stand, desired him to drive a little way, when he was to stop and take up a gentleman, accordingly she stopped at different places where Rowe has been waiting for her, and taken him into the coach. They used generally to come into the city, about the Exchange; they were not set down at any particular place; sometimes they discharged him; sometimes ordered him to wait, when they used to come back together, and Rowe was always set down at some place short of Mr. Worgan's house, but Mrs. Worgan went quite home in the coach.

Charles Webb, gentleman, aged thirty eight years, deposed, that he was intimately acquainted with Robert Rowe, that being with him on a Sunday morning,



ing, at St. John's chapel, in Bedford row, after chapel was over, Rowe said to him, "*come, you shall go over and see Mrs. Worgan, and you shall dine with me there.*" This evidence said, he must go home to dinner, but he would just go over and see Mrs. Worgan. They went over, and Rowe introduced him to Mrs. Worgan as an acquaintance of his, but he only staid a few minutes, having promised Mrs. Worgan to dine with her the next Sunday. Before this introduction to Mrs. Worgan, this evidence had often been told by Rowe, that he could do what he pleased with Mr. Worgan's house, by asking whom he pleased to dine there, and in all respects to make it his own; and also said, he had often been *concerned* with Mrs. Worgan, particularly in a coach. He went, according to promise to dine with Mrs. Worgan; her husband was absent; between coming from chapel and dinner time, Mrs. Worgan took him up stairs to shew a harpsichord of her husband's, Rowe accompanied them, and when in a little room, a study, next the dining room, Rowe kissed Mrs. Worgan, and put his hand into her breast; she did not appear in the least angry, or surprized at his freedom, but said, with a kind of sneer, "*fye, Mr. Rowe.*" From this slight notice, he concluded Rowe had been accustomed to take such freedoms with her. About three weeks after, on a Sunday afternoon, in passing the door, Rowe asked him to go in, he did so, Mrs. Worgan was alone, they all went to the chapel, and after service returned to Mr. Worgan's, that either before or after they went to chapel, Rowe took very great freedoms with Mrs. Worgan, pulling her about, and kissing her face and bosom, her handkerchief being loose upon her neck, and attempted to put his hands up her petticoats, which last she prevented by getting away. Mrs. Worgan, at this time, seemed to be very angry, and told Rowe, he ought to be ashamed of himself; she seemed greatly affected and burst into tears; on which Rowe said to her, before this evidence, "*Damn you, madam, you know you are*"



"*a whore.*" At the same time he kept pulling her about and kissing her, and putting his hands into her bosom; Mrs. Worgan then said to this evidence, "*Mr. Webb, you see his behaviour, and hear what he says, pray take me from him.*" Upon which he told Rowe his behaviour was very bad, that he would not stay any longer, accordingly he came away, and Rowe with him. In going home he told Rowe, it was a shame he should behave so to Mrs. Worgan, as he had a family at home; to which Rowe replied, "*Damn it, I can do any thing with her.*" Meaning, he could have the carnal use of her at any time. This evidence also saw Rowe kiss Mrs. Worgan in the organ loft, in St. John's chapel, during service.

*All this happened but a short time before Rowe was arrested, for this evidence deposed it was about a twelve-month before Rowe's death; now Rowe was a twelve-month in the Fleet prison.*

This evidence went to see Rowe in the Fleet prison, who said he was confined for twenty five pounds, which Mrs. Worgan had lent him, and for which he had given a note, which note Mrs. Worgan had paid away to one Batty, on purpose that Batty should arrest him; that Batty or Mrs. Worgan had sent him word they would take half the money, and release him. Rowe complained to him of the usage of Mrs. Worgan, and shewed him the copy of a letter he had sent her to that effect.

James Jones, porter to his Majesty, aged forty, deposed, that about six weeks or two months before Rowe's death, he went to see him in the Fleet prison; Rowe said Mrs. Worgan had used him very ill, for she had told him she had used some of her husband's money, and that she expected to receive some soon; but in the mean time begged him to give her his note for a sum of money, and that she would take care and pay it, when she got the money she expected; that he gave her his note, but not paying it was arrested, which lost him his place in the Bank; that  
with



with regard to her he had acted very wrong, he had both injured Mr. Worgan and his own family; he was very sorry he had suffered himself to be drawn in and seduced by such a woman, that she was a strumpet, and had been as common to him as to her husband. This evidence carried a letter from Rowe to Mrs. Worgan, complaining of her ill usage; when he told her he came from Rowe, she seemed greatly affected; after she had read the letter, he used every argument he could to induce her to get Rowe discharged; telling her all his distress was occasioned by his connection with her. She promised she would get the note cancelled, and get Rowe discharged in a day or two, and gave him a piece of money to carry to Rowe; but this evidence imagined she did not do any thing to get Rowe discharged, for he died in prison.

Mr. Richard Mackelcan, of Whitechapel, sugar-refiner, aged thirty three years, Mrs. Worgan's brother, had known Mr. Worgan upwards of seventeen years, and deposed to his good character, and to his sister's hand writing.

Martha Homer, aged thirty two years, upwards of eleven years ago went to live as a servant with Mr. and Mrs. Worgan, she lived with them thirteen months, and since that has washed for them; that about four years ago Mrs. Worgan miscarried, and in about a week after she observed her linen, which she had to wash, very much stained, supposing it owing to medicines, she took no further notice; but in a week after, observing Mr. Worgan's linen also much stained, she begun to suspect he had got the foul disease, and from that, and his giving her secretly several clouts also much stained, she believed he had at that time been afflicted with the foul disease, but how he contracted it, she could not say.

William Bromfield, Esq; of Conduit street, surgeon, aged fifty two years, deposed, that in July or August 1764, Mr. Worgan applied to him for advice in a complaint, which Mr. Worgan said had all the appear-



pearance of a clap ; but he was sure it could not be so, unless he had got it from his wife, who had been ill for a long time, and afflicted with a running from her private parts. This evidence examined Mr. Worgan, and found him ill with the venereal disease ; but to preserve family peace, he told Mr. Worgan, that the running his wife had might be the whites, which was common in women, and that if she had sharp humour in her blood, it might affect him, and cause a running. With this Mr. Worgan appeared well satisfied. About a week after this, Mrs. Worgan sent for him ; he went immediately, and she told him, she was very much obliged to him for concealing the nature of her husband's complaint from him, for that he, Mr. Bromfield, must know what it was, but for fear he might be any way deceived in it, she thought it proper to send for him, lest he might be giving her husband improper medicines, and thereby injure his health ; for the fact was, that the complaint he had was the venereal disease, which she had given him ; she herself having caught it of a man who came over the garden wall and forced her. Mrs. Worgan desired him still to keep it a secret from her husband, which he promised to do. This evidence took Mrs. Worgan also under his care ; he gave both of them medicines proper for persons afflicted with the venereal disease, and cured them both, Mr. Worgan during the whole time, looking upon his disorder to proceed from a sharpness of humour in his wife ; nor did he undeceive Mr. Worgan till about six months ago, when Mr. Worgan applied to him and said, "*I suppose you have heard how vilely my wife has behaved. I am determined to part with her, and as to the complaint which I had, it was a venereal complaint.*"

This evidence replied, it was then to no purpose to keep it a secret any longer ; that it certainly was a venereal complaint ; that Mrs. Worgan had confessed it to this evidence, and also that she had communicated it to him, Mr. Worgan, her husband.

July



July 7th, 1768, Anne Beckley deposed, she went about a year and a half ago to live as a servant with Mr. and Mrs. Worgan, and lived with them eleven months; during that time John Mully attended Mr. Worgan to learn music, and used often to visit Mrs. Worgan in Mr. Worgan's absence, and dined and drank tea with her; Mully and Mrs. Worgan used to be several hours alone; some of the times they were so together, she had heard the door of the room where they were lock and unlock; about four months before she left their service, Mully dined alone with Mrs. Worgan, Mr. Worgan was then in the country; this evidence, about tea time, going suddenly into the parlour with the tea kettle, on opening the door, saw Mrs. Worgan leaning back in a great chair, and John Mully, on the door opening, jump from her knee, and sat himself down on a chair, and huddled his cloaths all before him, as if he wanted to hide his breeches were down, but whether his breeches were really down or not, she could not say; that when he jumped from Mrs. Worgan, she observed that her petticoats were half way up, her handkerchief all off, and her cloaths and apron very much tumbled; that they both appeared very much confused and surprized; and she believed they had been lying together, had had carnal knowledge of each other, and committed the crime of adultery together.

Sentence passed in the usual form against Mrs. Worgan for committing adultery with certain strange men, calling themselves Robert Rowe and John Mully.



Mrs. ANNE CHARLOTTE COLLET,

Wife of Mr. JONATHAN COLLET,

For ADULTERY with

DIVERS STRANGE MEN,

And in particular with one JOHN BRANCH.

*The Libel was given in to Doctor's Commons, June 28th, 1770.*

THE libel stated, that on the 14th of February 1765, Mr. Collet was married to Mrs. Anne Charlotte Betts widow; that they cohabited together till September 1769, when Mr. Collet discovered his wife carried on a criminal correspondence with different men; particularly that she had committed adultery in a meadow with a man dressed in a red or scarlet coat; that she had often behaved in a very indecent manner, pulling up her petticoats to a great height above her knees, and exposing her nakedness before several strange men; and that she had been discovered at the house of Catherine Gascoyne, a public house called Lebeck's head, in Dorrington street, Brook's market, in bed with one John Branch.

Mrs. Collet's allegation's and charges against her husband were, that she was the relict of Thomas Betts, late of Cockspur street, glass cutter, deceased; that *Mr. Betts died the 8th of January 1765* intestate, and without a child, possessed of a personal estate from ten thousand to twelve thousand pounds, leaving Mrs. Collet, his widow, and John Soldan his nephew, the only persons entitled to the personal estate; that Mrs. Collet by an act of the 12th and 13th of Charles II. was entitled to a moiety of the personal estate, which moiety amounted to upwards of five thousand pounds. That Jonathan Collet was of very mean parentage, had been for years maintained, educated, and cloathed on charity, in Christ's hospital, London, and by



the governors had been apprenticed to Mr. Vines, shopkeeper at Wootten Underhedge, in Gloucestershire, who cloathed him during his apprenticeship; after which he came to London, and lived as an under clerk with Mr. Bartholomew Burton, merchant, at twenty pounds a year wages, and was in that situation when Mrs. Collet married him. That on *February 14<sup>th</sup> 1765*, Mrs. Betts was married to Jonathan Collet. *The reader will observe that this was just thirty seven days after her first husband's death.* Collet was then in such distressed circumstances, that he had neither money nor credit sufficient to buy his wedding cloaths, but Mrs. Collet furnished him with money; and that the whole property of which Collet was possessed, was in right of his wife Mrs. Collet. That in right of his wife he became possessed of her distributive share of the surplusage of the personal estate of Thomas Betts deceased, and now continued in possession of the profitable manufactory of cut, polish, and other glass ware, formerly carried on by Betts; and that he had only given bond to secure Mrs. Collet in two thousand five hundred pounds, in case she should survive him. That he was possessed of a tenement in Cockspur street, under lease, *at five pounds yearly rent*, eleven years unexpired, where he now lived, and carried on the glass manufactory, an old accustomed shop of great trade; worth from one hundred and fifty to two hundred a year, and the remainder of the lease worth from eight hundred to a thousand pounds. Also a lease of seventeen acres waste land on Honslow heath, and a messuage called Warren house, &c. also a lease of a brick tenement, stable, and garden plot, &c. in the parish of Twickenham; the reserved rent of these ninety five pounds, and now let to Mr. Merchant at the yearly rent of one hundred and thirty pounds clear of all taxes; and worth, if to be sold, from six hundred to eight hundred pounds. Also a piece of ground at Lewisham in Kent, held for a term of sixty years from Michaelmas 1756, at fifty pounds yearly rent, on which are dwelling house, coach house, offices,



fices, buildings, and also mills for cutting and polishing glass, which Collet then occupied, worth yearly from one hundred and eighty to two hundred pounds; and if to be sold worth from two thousand eight hundred to three thousand six hundred pounds. His stock in trade in Cockspur street and at Lewisham, worth from two thousand to three thousand pounds. His silver plate from two hundred and fifty to three hundred and fifty pounds. Household goods, table linen, &c. live and dead stock, worth from a thousand to fifteen hundred pounds. Money in the funds, debts, &c. after all his own debts are paid from three thousand to four thousand pounds. His yearly profit after paying wages, rent, and taxes, from fifteen hundred to two thousand pounds. And that all these he possessed and acquired in right of his wife. That the said Jonathan Collet kept a chaise and horse, also a saddle horse and three domestic servants, and hath only a daughter four years and an half old by Anne Charlotte Collet to provide for.

Enoch James, glass cutter, aged thirty years, deposed, that he had served his apprenticeship with Mr. Betts deceased, Mrs. Collet's late husband; that Mr. and Mrs. Collet had one daughter, named Anne; that Mrs. Collet was a very abandoned woman, very much addicted to drinking, and often guilty of many indecencies, both in the lifetime of her late husband, and also while she lived with her present husband; such as kissing some of the workmen, showing her bosom, and her legs, and often behaving indecently when in liquor, and drinking obscene toasts. This evidence had also seen her on a bed with one William Shoulter, who worked with Mr. Collet, but who was not now in his service.

Thomas Collet, currier, aged thirty four years, brother of Mr. Collet, deposed, that Mr. and Mrs. Collet cohabited together after their marriage some years, but on some disagreement they separated; that on Sunday the first of April 1770, he dined with his brother, who hearing that Mrs. Collet his wife, was at a



house lying with a man, Mr. Collet attended by this evidence, Edward Chapman, and John Fennymore, went to Mrs. Gascoyne's, a public house, in Brook's market, and sat drinking there some time ; that after midnight they went up stairs into a bedchamber, where they saw a man in bed with Mrs. Collet ; that to hide herself she pulled the sheet over her face, but it being forced from her, he plainly saw her in bed with a man naked ; and he had since heard the man's name was Branch ; and he believed Mrs. Collet and Branch had had carnal knowledge of each other, and committed the crime of adultery together. On interrogatories he said, that his brother before his marriage was a clerk to Mr. Burton, a merchant, and one of the governors of the bank ; that his brother was then in good credit, and not in indigent circumstances ; that he now kept a glass manufactory, but was not acquainted with that business before his marriage ; that he knew nothing of his brother's private affairs or his gains, or the fortune he had with Mrs. Collet ; that his brother had confined his wife, but did not know how long ; that his wife was a woman of a very provoking temper, that he had seen her take a knife in her hand, and hold it as if she was going to stab her husband ; that when she so behaved and abused her husband, he struck her twice in the presence of this evidence, pulled her by the hair of her head, but did not drag her about the room ; he believed Mrs. Collet left her husband, because she could not get drunk, and spend money as she pleased.

Edward Chapman, of White Horse alley, Cow Cross, brass founder, aged thirty eight, deposed, that he had worked many years for the shop Mr. Collet kept, in his business of a brass founder ; that on Sunday April 1st, 1770, Mr. Collet called on him about eleven at night, and desired him to accompany him to detect his wife ; that they went to Mrs. Gascoyne's, where they understood Mrs. Collet was at supper with a strange man, and they waited till Mrs. Collet and the man went to bed : that about three or

four



four in the morning, April 2d, they went up stairs into a back room or bedchamber, and all of them saw Mrs. Collet, naked and alone in bed with a strange man; and that she attempted to hide her face with the bed cloaths. That he had since seen and knew the man to be John Branch, and he believed Mrs. Collet and Branch had then carnal knowledge of each other.

John Fennymore, of Great Suffolk street, Charing Cross, peruke maker, aged thirty, deposed, that he knew Mrs. Collet by sight in the time of her first husband Mr. Betts, who kept a glass shop in Cockspur street; that on Sunday evening April 1st, Mr. Collet desired him to go with him to Mrs. Gascoyne's, while there Mr. Collet informed him he had intelligence that his wife Mrs. Collet was to be there that night, and desired this evidence to be a witness; that Mrs. Collet coming down stairs, they hid themselves in the beer cellar; when the house was quiet they went up stairs, and saw Mrs. Collet and a strange man, naked and in bed together; the man seemed much surpris'd, and said Mrs. Collet was his wife, but Mr. Collet said she was his wife, and he should know she was; that from finding her and Branch, which he now believed to be the man's name, naked and in bed together, he believed they had had carnal knowledge of each other, and committed adultery together.

William Stock, foreman to Mr. Collet, aged thirty nine, deposed, that he had been foreman to Mr. Betts, Mrs. Collet's late husband; that Mrs. Collet was a very loose abandoned woman, much given to drinking and swearing, and of a very lustful and wicked disposition; that about September 1769, Mr. Collet and she agreed to live separate; that while they lived together, she always first began to quarrel and abuse Mr. Collet. On interrogatories; he believed that Mr. Collet had near five thousand pounds with Mrs. Collet, but could not say what he cleared yearly by his business and estates. That about the end of the year 1766, Mrs. Collet threatened to murder



der Mr. Collet, and to avoid her he went from Lewisham between nine and ten at night on a Saturday, to London, leaving orders to prevent her following him, but she followed him on Sunday, and this evidence heard that on Sunday she was conveyed to a private mad house in Lambeth marsh, and confined till the Sunday following, when this evidence by desire of Mr. Collet, took her from thence to Lewisham, Mr. Collet not being able to bear she should be there. That two or three times Mrs. Collet was chained for a week together to the floor at Lewisham, with a chain about the size of a little finger. She was so kept to prevent her doing mischief to Mr. Collet, and from breaking the glasses, doors, and doing all sorts of mischief; that he heard Mrs. Collet say, that Mr. Collet had attempted to cut her throat, and there was a scratch on her neck, but this evidence thought she would cut off her hand herself to prevent being detected in a lie. That Mr. Collet never encouraged his servants to treat her with insolence. Mr. Collet never used her ill till she began first, and then he hath been provoked to strike her, and pull her hair, and pull her about the room, but not by the hair, when she was drunk as poison and could not stand. That it was no ways necessary for Mrs. Collet to withdraw herself to save her life, for Mr. Collet always used her well, till she began to abuse him.

Richard Hopkins, of Lewisham, gardner, aged fifty six, deposed, he lived near two years as gardner with Mr. Collet; that Mrs. Collet was often much in liquor, and very indecent in her behaviour, often pulling up her petticoats; that on Whitfun-Monday 1768, about seven or eight in the evening, Mrs. Collet being at Lewisham, and quite fuddled, ran out into the fields like a madwoman, without hat or cloak, said she was going to fight a man, and desired this evidence to follow her; he did not much like to do it, but she ordered him to do it upon his peril; he followed her slowly, she went from one meadow to another, and in one of the meadows met an officer, as he believed,

or



or a person in a red coat, and after some conversation they very soon lay down on the grass together for some time; and this evidence not caring about the matter, and not being willing to spoil their sport, did not go near them, because he thought he might be in danger from the officer, and therefore went towards home, he also thought if Mrs. Collet was not inclined, she would soon call out; that she and the strange man were upon the grass sometime, tumbling about and in motion; on which account, and this evidence's knowledge of her disposition and behaviour at other times, he in his conscience believed the man in the red coat then had carnal knowledge of Mrs. Collet, and committed adultery with her. Mrs. Collet did not come home till between twelve and one in the morning. Next night or the night after, about eight o'clock, the man in the red coat came to Mr. Collet's house, and remained sometime alone with Mrs. Collet in the parlour locked up; and this evidence believed they then had carnal knowledge of each other. On interrogatories, he said, he had seen Mr. Collet strike his wife, but not to hurt her, but that she always began first, throwing knives, forks, and any thing she could find at him; Mr. Collet never treated her with cruelty, but merely in self defence, and on account of her outrageous behaviour in breaking china, glass, and throwing whatever was in her way; this evidence had heard she had been confined in a madhouse for being so constantly drunk and so unruly, that she could not be kept in any kind of order; she drank to a very great excess, often a quart of brandy in a day, and was so vicious and unruly, there was no possibility of managing her; he was once called in to assist Mr. Collet, and found three ribs of beef, the salts, knives, forks, and plates on the floor, and Mrs. Collet very drunk; that Mr. Collet borrowed his handkerchief, and tied her hands behind her, but that she soon got loose again; she was afterwards chained with a little jack chain to the floor, but she also soon got loose again, and she was after  
that



that chained with the same chain near a fortnight; sometimes she got loose, and sometimes was let loose on promise of behaving better; but when loose she would throw the first thing she met with at Mr. Collet, and then he confined her again, but she did not seem to mind it, but contrived to get loose again. That if in his power, he would give the victory to Mr. Collet, because he thought Mrs. Collet scarce fit to live or die, or sit for a wife for any man.

John Carmichael, clerk to Mr. Collet, aged twenty seven, deposed, that when Mr. and Mrs. Collet parted, Mrs. Collet went to live at Hampstead; that she was a very loose abandoned woman, much given to drinking, and of a very lustful wicked disposition; that on Sunday the first of April 1770, he went with Mr. Collet and others to Mrs. Gascoyne's, at Lebeck's head in Brook's market, where they staid till they thought Mrs. Collet was in bed; Mr. Collet having information she was to be there that night to lie with a man, who had lain with her at the same place before. That they went up stairs and surpris'd Mrs. Collet and a strange man named Branch naked in bed together; the room door was opened by force, being bolted; he believed Branch was very much frightened, as he shed tears, and Mrs. Collet was much confus'd; from all which he believed, Mrs. Collet and the said strange man, had then carnal knowledge of each other's bodies, and committed adultery together.

Mrs. Collet when she separated from her husband, went to lodge and board at Mr. Thomas Bryan's, Pond street Hampstead, and in one of her interrogatories charged Mrs. Gascoyne with enquiring of Mrs. Bryan, if any man had ever lain with Mrs. Collet, and with saying to Mr. Bryan that Mr. Collet would give one hundred pounds to any one that would prove his wife guilty of adultery. Others of her interrogatories stated, that John Branch was a person in very low and necessitous circumstances, that he would undertake any thing for reward; that he took advantage of Mrs. Collet's being in liquour, to go to bed



to her without her knowledge, for the sake of hire, to found a pretence for the suit. That one of the three Gascoynes, all of them women, with John Branch, about noon on Sunday April 1st 1770, came to Mrs. Collet's lodgings at Hampstead, she received them with civility, gave them a dinner and tea, and after tea, that with great entreaty they prevailed upon her to go with them to Lebeck's head, where with mulled wine and hot punch, they kept her drinking till near dark, she was then uneasy, and insisted on going to Hampstead, but they offered her a bed and persuaded her to stay. That they plyed her with liquor, made her drink to excess, and made her drunk, and put John Branch to bed to her, to get the hundred pounds reward. That when they got her to Lebeck's head they sent to inform her husband and his witnesses. That the street door was left open for their obtaining ready access, and for Branch's more easily getting off. That a boiled fowl and oyster sauce was provided for her supper, that she supped there with the three Gascoyne's and John Branch, and they plyed her with wine, punch, and other strong liquors, and kept her up drinking to great excess till two or three in the morning of the 2d of April 1770, that then she was very much intoxicated, and got or was put to bed quite senseless. That they left the door open for Branch to get in, and the instant he was in bed with her, Mr. Collet and his witnesses rushed in, and John Branch started out of bed and went down stairs.

Mrs. Collet's interrogatories had no effect, she was fully convicted of the crime of adultery, and her husband obtained a divorce from bed, board, and mutual cohabitation, in the usual form.

TRIAL



TRIAL OF

Mrs. ARABELLA HEATLEY,

Wife of Mr. RICHARD HEATLEY, *Wine Merchant.*

For ADULTERY with,

DIVERS STRANGE MEN.

And particularly with CAPTAIN JOHN JOLLY.

*The Libel also states, that she carried on a lewd and adulterous conversation with various men, and thereby contracted the venereal disease, and communicated the same to her husband.*

*Libel given in to Doctor's Commons, December 6th, 1770.*

MISS Arabella Dawson, sister of William Dawson, of Cardiff, South Wales, Esq; was married the 17th of October 1765, to Mr. Richard Heatley. It appears from the evidence on the trial that Mr. Heatley previously to his engaging in business for himself, was clerk to Mr. Croft, wine merchant in Mark lane, who was likewise married to a sister of Mr. Dawson's, and from his living at Mr. Crofts, became acquainted with Miss Arabella Dawson, whom he afterwards married.

Mrs. Heatley, soon after her marriage, departed from her conjugal duty, insomuch that her own servants and relations looked upon her to be a person of a very lewd and vicious inclination, before her husband received that venereal taint from her, which first led to a discovery of her baseness.

Susan Gray, one of the servants in the house deposed, that in March 1767, she went to live in the family; and that Mr. Heatley was a remarkably fond, indulgent, and attentive husband. [Indeed all the witnesses depose to the same effect.]

Mrs. Heatley was equally lascivious and imprudent; she took no pains to conceal her wicked intrigues



trigues from her own servants; instead of doing so, she communicated to them her hair breadth escapes, expressed her good fortune in deceiving her most obliging husband, and indulged herself in very indecent familiarities with her paramours before them.

The evidence Gray had seen her take most indecent liberties with one captain Chapman, who often visited at Mr. Heatley's house in Philpot lane; and from the end of the year 1767 till about the middle of June 1769, captain John Jolly, (brother in law to Mr. English, who was partner with Mr. Heatley) came almost daily to the house, excepting such times as he was out of England, and he and Mrs. Heatley used to be alone together. Captain Jolly generally came when Mr. Heatley was from home, and then the servants were always sent out of the room. Jolly when Mr. Heatley was out of town would come about five or six o'clock in the afternoon, and stay till twelve or one at night. When they were in the room together, and the servant, Gray, happened to go in, Mrs. Heatley and the captain appeared very much confused, her clothes appearing very much tumbled, and her handkerchief and cap sometimes almost off. About the 2d of April 1768, Mrs. Heatly and Jolly went out about nine in the morning in a post chaise to Woolwich (as the post boy informed Gray) and came back about six in the afternoon. Mr. Heatley being then in Berkshire, and Jolly staid alone with Mrs. Heatley till twelve or one o'clock. About eleven Gray went into the room, and her mistress appeared extremely confused, her cloaths much tumbled, and her handkerchief and cap almost off.

Mrs. Heatley was even so impudent as to read her paramour's letters to her maids, in particular one from Jolly about June 1769, mentioning he had been upon Sydenham common according to appointment, and wondered she had not met him, he had waited two hours on the common, had been wet quite through, and then went to the Greyhound at Sydenham, not having a dry thread about him. That in April or May



May 1769 Jolly came to Mr. Heatly's about four o'clock in the afternoon; Mr. Heatly was not at home; as he had not dined her mistress ordered dinner for him, after which she changed her cloathes, and about five they went off in a hackney coach, Mrs. Heatly leaving directions to tell her husband, if he came home, that she was gone to his friend's captain Conway's in Tower street. Mrs. Heatly came home again about eleven at night with her husband, and soon after informed Gray and Lawrance the nursery maid, that she and captain Jolly had taken three different coaches, from her own house to Catherine street in the strand, to prevent their being followed; that she had been very lucky in getting back to captain Conway's by eight o'clock, and before her husband came there; and that captain Jolly had gone with her to captain Conway's, and then left her.

That about the beginning of June 1769 she and Lawrence the nursery maid, observed Mrs. Heatley took medicines and pills privately, particularly as soon as she got up, or before she went to bed; and that these medicines were brought by captain Jolly. About the middle of June, Mr. Heatley finding himself to be infected with the venereal disease, was seized with violent convulsion fits, to which he had never been subject. Gray, the evidence, in her conscience believed this disease had been given Mr. Heatley by his wife, who was then taking the medicines and pills abovementioned to cure herself of that disorder. Just at this time Mrs. Heatley went to country lodgings at Sydenham, but Mr. Heatley remained in town. Whilst she was at Sydenham she wrote several letters to captain Jolly, and he came often to see her, and brought or conveyed medicines privately to her, which she took secretly. Also while here Mrs. Heatley informed Gray, that Mr. English, Mr. Heatley's partner and brother in law to captain Jolly, had taken out of the captain's pocket some letters from her to captain Jolly. Here this evidence deposed to Mrs. Heatley's hand writing.

Mrs.



Mrs. Heatley also at this time expressed very great affection for captain Jolly, and likewise confessed to Mrs. Henman at whose house she lodged, that she had committed adultery with him, and that notwithstanding all that had happened, if she had the same opportunities again, she was afraid she should again be guilty with him. That the words "*Jolly and Scoundrel*" in Mrs. Heatley's letter to her brother, this evidence believed meant captain Jolly; and the expressions, "*a villain, curses on him, who seduced me from you,*" in Mrs. Heatley's letter to her husband, were also meant for captain Jolly. And that the words in captain Jolly's letter to Mrs. Heatley, "How much more so then from a lovely fair, under whose roof I have received the strongest marks of a permanent one," alluded to the criminal correspondence carried on between him and Mrs. Heatley; that Mrs. Heatley left Sydenham in October 1769, and went to live at Gloucester.

Henrietta Lawrence deposed, that in January 1769, she was hired as a wet nurse by Mrs. Heatley, and went to a house in Philpot lane, to suckle a child which Mrs. Heatley had lately been delivered of, being the third child born by Mrs. Heatley; that Mr. Heatley always behaved to his wife with the greatest fondness, love and fidelity; that she always looked upon Mrs. Heatley to be a very lewd and vicious woman, extremely fond of, and hardly ever happy unless in the company of men; that she always contrived to be alone with any gentleman who came to her husband's house; that she took frequent opportunities to be in private with one captain Chapman; that she had behaved in a very free and indecent manner with him, when her husband was from home. That captain Jolly, brother in law to Mr. English, Mr. Heatley's partner, and an intimate acquaintance of Mr. Heatley's, took every opportunity of coming to Mr. Heatley's, and would stay with Mrs. Heatley from the afternoon till twelve or one in the morning, when her husband was absent; that when captain Jolly came,



which he did almost daily, this evidence and the child were always sent out of the room, and on returning again to it on any business, she found her mistress and the captain generally very much confused, and Mrs. Heatley's cloaths and head dress very much tumbled, and her handkerchief nearly off; particularly one evening, the beginning of April 1769, when Mr. Heatley was in Berkthire, after Mrs. Heatley and the captain had come from spending the day at Woolwich, this evidence opening the room door rather abruptly, they both appeared very much confused, and started from their chairs, which were close together; Mrs. Heatley's cloaths were greatly tumbled, and her handkerchief and cap almost off; and she believed they had then had the carnal use of each other's bodies, and committed the crime of adultery, as they had also done several times before. About May 1769, captain Jolly came at four in the afternoon, and dined there, Mr. Heatley being from home, and Mrs. Heatley having dressed herself afresh, she and the captain set out in a coach a quarter before five, Mrs. Heatley leaving directions with Susan Gray to tell her husband, if he should come home, that she was gone to captain Conway's, in Tower street; that about eleven Mr. and Mrs. Heatley came home together, but before Mrs. Heatley went to bed, she came into the kitchen, and told her and Susan Gray, that she and captain Jolly had been to a house in Catherine street in the Strand, which she took for a tavern, that they had taken three different coaches from Philpot lane, to prevent any person knowing where they went to, and that between seven and eight they got back to captain Conway's; that it was the luckiest thing in the world she got there before her husband, -and that she had been afraid Miss Conway would have mentioned that she had but just come in. That from the gay and loose behaviour of Mrs. Heatley, the evidence believed that she and captain Jolly had committed adultery together that afternoon. That in June 1769, Mrs. Heatley privately took medicines and pills, which



which had been secretly brought into the house, that this evidence and Gray suspected they were for the cure of the venereal disease, which Mrs. Heatley had contracted by her adulterous conversation with captain Jolly and other men, and had communicated the same to her husband; because Mrs. Heatley for a fortnight after she took the medicines, kept her husband's shirts from going to wash, till she herself had first washed them in part. That she believed Mrs. Heatley did infect her husband with the venereal disease; that Mr. Heatley applied to Mr. Eldridge, a surgeon, in June 1769, to know what was the matter with him; that on the surgeon's assuring him he had got the venereal disease, Mr. Heatley would not believe him, as he knew his own innocence, and had the highest opinion of his wife's honour and virtue; that soon after this, being convinced that his wife had given him that disorder, he fell into strong and violent convulsions, to which he had never been subject before; that when he was somewhat recovered of his fits, he accused his wife with having committed adultery, and infecting him with the venereal disease; that she upon her knees confessed the same; that this evidence was not present, but heard her master talking loudly as if in a violent passion, and her mistress crying very much; that after this confession, Mrs. Heatley was sent to Sydenham, and Mr. Heatley was attended by Mr. Eldridge and Mr. Gregory, surgeons.

Mrs. Heatley, when at Sydenham, confessed to this evidence that she had the venereal disease, and that captain Jolly, who came to see her, procured her medicines, and that he was her only friend; she also said, she was sorry her husband was ill with that distemper, for that he was a good man, and greatly injured.

This evidence deposed to the letters being the handwriting of Mrs. Heatley; that Mrs. Heatley's brother came to see her at Sydenham, the end of July or beginning of August; and that in October she went to



Gloucester, from whence she wrote several letters to her husband.

Elizabeth Potters, cook to Mr. Heatley, deposed, that she went to live in the family in November 1768, that Mr. Heatley was remarkably fond of his wife ; but that she and her fellow servants looked upon Mrs. Heatley to be a very loose and vicious person, very fond of the company of men, having hardly any female visitors ; that captain Jolly was her most frequent visitor, and used often to be alone with her, when her husband was from home, or in the country. In May 1769, captain Jolly came to the house, and was a considerable time with Mrs. Heatley, in her dressing room up one pair of stairs, with the door shut, and on this evidence opening the door with the tea things in her hand, captain Jolly and Mrs. Heatley were sitting very close together, and one of his hands round Mrs. Heatley's neck, and the other in her bosom ; on seeing her they started from each other in the greatest confusion ; Mrs. Heatley's handkerchief, apron, and cloaths were much tumbled. This evidence was also much confused, she set down the tea things in a hurry, and ran out of the room. That in April or May 1769, Mrs. Heatley and captain Jolly went out in a coach about four in the afternoon ; and that day Mr. Heatley dined at a tavern in Bishopsgate street. This evidence also deposed to the circumstances that induced her to believe that Mrs. Heatley had the venereal distemper, and had communicated it to her husband ; to Mr. Heatley's being seized with convulsion fits, and being attended by Mr. Gregory, who bled him, and ordered him to go to bed ; to his sending Mrs. Heatley to Sydenham in Kent, and to his continuing in London, and to his being confined a considerable time with the venereal disease ; and that she believed the fits were occasioned by his distress of mind, on account of his wife's bad conduct, and giving him the venereal disorder.

Mrs. Adams deposed, that she became acquainted with Mrs. Heatley by living opposite to her in Rood lane ;



lane ; that about May 1769, she went to pay a morning visit to Mrs. Heatley, who then lived in Philpot lane, and on going into the dining room, she saw a stranger to her, but whom she now believed to be captain Jolly, sitting very close to Mrs. Heatley, one of his hands being in or upon one of hers, and his other hand hanging carelessly down ; that he seemed to be in a supplicating affectionate posture ; on his seeing her enter the room, he seemed confused, started, and seated himself in his chair, which he did not entirely sit upon when she entered, owing to his supplicating posture ; and that in about five minutes after he took his leave.

Elizabeth Henman deposed, that she had known Mr. Heatley before his marriage, by his coming to Mr. Croft, to whom he was clerk, and who lodged at her house ; that Mr. Heatley took lodgings at her house at Sydenham in summer 1769 ; that about September, being at his house in Philpot lane, he shewed her two letters, written by his wife to captain Jolly, and informed her that his wife had given him the foul disease ; that next day she mentioned to Mrs. Heatley she had seen her letters to captain Jolly, on which Mrs. Heatley burst into tears and acknowledged that one day when Jolly was at dinner with her in Philpot lane she told him she was going to a limner to sit for her picture, and Jolly said if it would be no interruption he would go with her ; they accordingly went to a limner in Fleet street, and when done there, Jolly said he had a little business farther on, but he would not detain her five minutes ; that she went with him ; he took her to a bagnio, a waiter came to the door with a napkin under his arm, as soon as she got within the door, it was shut to, and the passage was dark, that Jolly then told her, she must commit herself to his mercy, that if she screamed out nobody would come to her assistance. Mrs. Heatley then told her, that was the first time Jolly had ruined her, by which this evidence understood he had lain with her, or had carnal use and knowledge of her body. Mrs.



Heatley did not say when or where this transaction happened.

That Mr. Heatley after discovering the criminal correspondence between Jolly and his wife, declined coming to Mrs. Heatley at this evidences house ; and that afterwards, on her going into Mrs. Heatley's room, she saw there a gallipot of electuary, and a box of pills, which she believed Mrs. Heatley took for the foul disease.

William Dawson, of Cardiff, in South Wales, Esq; deposed, that he was brother to Mrs. Heatley ; that Mr. Heatley made her a most excellent husband ; that in August 1769, when at Camberwell, on a visit to Mr. Harris, Mr. Heatley came to him, and informed him of the criminal conversation between Mrs. Heatley and captain Jolly ; Mr. Heatley appeared under great distress and agitation of mind. This evidence offered to go, and did go next morning, to Mrs. Heatley at Sydenham, where he found her lying on her bed in great distress of mind, she confessed her criminal intercourse with captain Jolly ; that they had been together in a coach, which had set them down at a house, which, from her account, he apprehended was Haddocks's bagnio, in Covent Garden ; that they went in at the back door, and that on Jolly telling her it was in vain to resist, she had consented to his desires ; adding farther, that Jolly was a villain. This evidence also deposed to his sister's hand writing ; and that Mr. English in August 1769, told him, that Jolly had said, that Mrs. Heatley had so often come to his lodgings, and behaved so indecently, by sometimes coming to bed to him that he had been tempted to have criminal correspondence with her. After the confession of her having committed adultery with Jolly, this evidence believing that she still continued to see him, wrote to her about it, and received in answer, the letter containing the words, "*Jolly and Scoundrel,*" by which was meant the John Jolly abovementioned.

Quarles



Quarles Harris of Crutehed Friars, mérchant, deposed that he was brother in law to Mrs. Heatley, having married her sister; that there never was a better husband living than Mr. Heatley; that he always believed Mrs. Heatley a person of a lewd and vicious inclination; that he used to go often to Mr. Heatley's and often found Mrs. Heatley and captain Jolly alone together, when Mr. Heatley was in the country, or out on his business; that Jolly behaved with more freedom in conversation and behaviour, than was proper from a batchelor to a married woman, continually calling her "*my dear, my angel.*" That at one time in 1769 he saw Jolly set himself at Mrs. Heatley's feet, kiss her hand, and call her, *sweet angel*; that from the great freedoms he frequently saw between them, and the opinion he had of the lewd disposition of Mrs. Heatley, he thought they had a criminal correspondence together. That Mr. Heatley did not in the least suspect the criminal intercourse between his wife and Jolly, for in May 1769 he procured a freight for Jolly's ship the Delaware, which ship was consigned to this evidence's house in Oporto. In August 1769 Mr. Heatley told him that his wife had given him the venereal disease, and laid it upon Jolly. That Mr. Heatley had been often attacked with fits occasioned by distress of mind arising from his wife's ill conduct, and had been almost reduced to death's door by the said venereal disease and fits. That in August 1769 he met captain Jolly's father in Cornhill who told him, he was greatly concerned at his son's behaviour, and that his son had behaved so villainously, that he should take no further notice of him. A few days after he met the father again in Cornhill, who told him his son had confessed his having lain with Mrs. Heatley, but that she had seduced him, and that it was not his son who had given her the foul disease. Mr. English, captain Jolly's brother in law, also told this evidence, that Jolly had confessed to him that he had lain three times with Mrs. Heatly, twice at a bagnio



bagnio, and once at Jolly's own lodgings, but that he had not given her the foul disease.

Thomas English of Clink street, Southwark, founder, deposed, that he had been partner with Mr. Heatley, as a wine merchant for about two years, till autumn 1769, and that captain Jolly was his brother in law; that in April 1769, captain Jolly returned from his voyage from Leghorn. About the middle of June 1769 being alone with Mr. Heatley in the counting house, he observed Mr. Heatley's watch in his hand to be very much changed in its colour, it was a yellow metal watch, but then appeared whitish; on which he said to Mr. Heatley, that if he was not a married man he should think he was poxed. Mr. Heatley replied he had not worn the watch for some time, and put it up in seeming confusion. This evidence then said somebody must have worn the watch who had been taking mercury. In August 1769 he observing Mr. Heatley much disturbed in his mind, asked him the cause of it, to which Mr. Heatley answered with much emotion "*my wife has poxed me, and that villain Jolly is the cause of it,*" and requested this evidence to see him righted. That same afternoon he went to Mr. Heatley's with two letters, which he had found among captain Jolly's papers; Jolly lived in his house; he had looked among the papers which lay open in Jolly's room, because Mr. Heatley had accused him with being privy to the criminal correspondence. After this he taxed Jolly with having poxed Mrs. Heatley, which Jolly solemnly and absolutely denied; that two or three months afterwards, he met Mr. Heatley in Leadenhall street, who asked after Jolly, and said he was sorry for having accused him with giving his wife the venereal disease, as he was now convinced it was not Jolly who had done it, and added he should be glad to see him, as he wanted his assistance to obtain a separation from his wife.

John Jolly, the elder, of Lewisham, Kent, merchant, aged seventy-three, deposed to his son's hand writing in a letter to Mrs. Heatley; that his son be-

came



came acquainted with Mr. and Mrs. Heatley, through Mr. English, Mr. Heatley's partner who is his son's brother in law; that he met Mr. Heatley in Cornhill in 1769, who in a very angry manner, told him, that his son had given Mrs. Heatley the foul disease, which she had communicated to him, and that he was very much poxed; to which this deponent replied, that it could not be his son who had given Mrs. Heatley the foul disease, as he had been well assured his son had not had that distemper. This evidence then asked Mr. Needy, who was present, and was, and had been, surgeon of his son's ship for two years, if his son had had that disease? Mr. Needy answered solemnly upon his honour that captain Jolly had not had in all that time the foul disease. This evidence then said to Mr. Heatley, that he was convinced his son had not given Mrs. Heatley the venereal disease, and from the surgeon's declaration he also believed that his son had not had any criminal connection with Mrs. Heatley.

John Shaw, surgeon, Southwark, deposed that captain Jolly told him that Mrs. Heatly had seduced him, that she came at seven o'clock on the very morning he was to leave England, to his lodgings in Fenchurch street before he was up, and behaved in such a manner to him, that no man of sensibility could resist. This evidence believed that morning to be in July 1768, as captain Jolly was then ready to leave England to go to Leghorn.

Daniel Eldridge, surgeon, Mile End, deposed, that Mr. Heatley applied to him in June 1769 for advice, telling him, he had a complaint the nature of which he was entirely ignorant of. On examination, this evidence found it to be the venereal disease; there was a great and virulent running, or discharge, with two or three shankers. Mr. Heatley said he must be mistaken, knowing his own innocence, and having the highest opinion of his wife's honour and virtue. This evidence insinuating that it was the venereal disease; Mr. Heatly declared his wife must have given it him, as  
he



he never had had any carnal intercourse with any woman but her since his marriage. This evidence attended Mr. Heatley three or four months; after which Mr. Heatley applied to Mr. Gregory. Mr. Heatley always appeared under great affliction, owing to the aforesaid distemper, which this evidence believed had been given him by his wife.

Wentworth Gregory, surgeon, Rood lane, deposed, that in June 1769 he was sent for to Mr. Heatley, and found him in a strong and violent convulsion fit, he let him blood, gave him some drops, and desired him to send for an apothecary. A fortnight after, this evidence was sent for again to him, and found him again in a strong convulsion fit; this evidence would not bleed him then, suspecting the fits were occasioned by some trouble of mind. In August 1769 Mr. Heatley sent for him, told him Mrs. Heatley had given him the venereal disease, that he had been under another surgeon, but was still very bad, therefore desired his assistance. This evidence examined Mr. Heatley, found he had the venereal disease, which shewed itself in a discharge or running. This evidence cured him within the space of three months, and believed that the convulsion fits, were owing solely to the distraction of mind Mr. Heatley was in, from his wife having given him the venereal disease.

Sentence of divorce from bed, board and mutual cohabitation passed in the usual form.



TRIAL OF

Mrs. ELIZABETH DRAPER,

Wife of RICHARD DRAPER Grocer, *Bishopsgate street,*

For COMMITTING ADULTERY with

V A R I O U S M E N,

Particularly with CHARLES RUSSEL, JOHN HAYLOCK, WILLIAM PENFOLD, JOHN LANKESTER, and EDWARD GOODE.

*The Libel was given in to Doctor's Commons, January 26th, 1771.*

MISS Elizabeth Hartnel, spinster and a minor, daughter of Mr. Hartnel grocer, was married the 16th of December 1764, to Mr. Richard Draper. Very soon after her marriage she went into such an abandoned course of life, and took so little care to conceal her lewd inclinations from any other person than her husband, that no person of virtue would keep her company, and even her own friends dropped her acquaintance.

The first criminal connection she formed, as proved on her trial, was in summer 1766, about eighteen months after her marriage, and within a short time after she had been brought to bed.

Sufannah Latimer, deposed, that in July 1766, Mrs. Draper with her child and maid servant came and lodged at this evidence's house at Waltham Cross in Hertfordshire, and staid three months; during which time Charles Russel, master of the Chesshunt stage coach frequently brought parcels for Mrs. Draper; sometimes it was late, and Mrs. Draper asked him to supper, and they supped together alone. Russel was very frequently with her, and often rode out with her on horseback; that it was the talk of the neighbourhood, that he had an improper intimacy with her. Whilst she was in the house of this evidence, she did not behave with that decency and modesty becoming a married woman. She talked in too free a style, and behaved in a very flighty manner.

Charles



Charles Ruffel, of High street Wapping, victual-  
ler, aged thirty five, deposed, that in 1766 he was  
master of the Chestnut stage coach, and commonly  
drove it himself; that in summer 1766, Mrs. Draper  
with a child and maid servant went in his coach to  
Waltham Cross to lodge there for the child's health;  
that he frequently carried parcels between Mr. Draper  
and his wife, and often rode out on horseback with  
her; that when he was alone with her at her lodgings  
she has come and sat upon his knees frequently, put  
her hands round his neck, and seemed desirous he  
should have a more intimate connection with her;  
that in August or September 1766, he, by her own  
desire and consent lay with, and had carnal knowledge  
of her, at her lodgings at Mrs. Latimer's; and some-  
time afterwards he rode out with her on horseback to  
see lord Tilney's gardens on Epping forest, and when  
they were alone together in the gardens, he by her  
consent and desire, lay with her, and had carnal know-  
ledge of her, in a summer house in the gardens.

William Penfold, aged eighteen, deposed, that in  
the beginning of March 1768, he came from the  
country to Mr. Draper's on trial as an apprentice, be-  
ing then about sixteen years of age; he frequently  
dined with Mr. and Mrs. Draper, and when Mr. Dra-  
per was from home he dined with Mrs. Draper; he  
continued with Mr. Draper till May 1770. About  
three weeks after he went to live at Mr. Draper's  
house, Mrs. Draper made advances to him, and shew-  
ed a desire for him to have connections with her.  
One Sunday the end of March 1768, when sitting a-  
lone with her in the dining room up one pair of stairs,  
she came and kissed him, and the next Sunday being  
alone with her in the same room after dinner, she kis-  
sed him, put her hand to his breeches and unbuttoned  
them, and asked him to enjoy her, and pulled up her  
petticoats; he then at her desire had carnal knowledge  
of her, and committed adultery with her; and for the  
whole time he lived in Mr. Draper's house, being up-  
wards of two years, he very frequently, sometimes  
twice



twice a week, and when opportunity served, and when Mr. Draper was from home, had carnal knowledge of Mrs. Draper in the said dining room; and afterwards when they removed to another house nearer to Bishopsgate, he frequently had carnal knowledge of her upon her own bed in her bedchamber.

About the month of November 1768, on a Sunday afternoon, being alone with Mrs. Draper in her husband's house, who was then gone to Hartford, she said she would take him to a house in Hedge lane. They set off accordingly, took coach at the Royal Exchange for Charing Cross, and from thence Mrs. Draper conducted him to a house in Hedge lane, where he was an entire stranger. They went in, and he followed her up stairs into a bedchamber, and upon the bed in that bedchamber he had carnal knowledge of Mrs. Draper, and committed adultery with her. She at the time declaring she knew the house very well, and had been there before.

On a Friday in May 1770, when Mr. Draper was gone to Hartford, where he was to stay all night, Mrs. Draper proposed to him to come down in the night, and come to bed to her; he agreed to the proposal, and about twelve o'clock, left his own bed, and went down naked to Mrs. Draper's bedchamber, and knocked at the door, but whilst he was waiting, he heard a noise as if Goode, who was in the next room was getting out of bed, and fearing a discovery he returned to his own room, and did not go to Mrs. Draper that night.

Sarah Elliot, spinster, aged thirty, deposed, that about three years ago, (beginning of 1768) when Mr. Draper was from home, she observed Mrs. Draper shewed great fondness for William Penfold the apprentice, often sending for him up stairs; and when she has gone into the room where they were alone together, they seemed surprised and confused, and coloured, as if they had been doing something they should not do. She lived with them about four months.



Anna Drew, aged forty eight, deposed, that between three and four years ago, (beginning of 1708) she lived as a servant with Mr. and Mrs. Draper four months and a week. Mrs Draper shewed a particular fondness for the apprentice William Penfold, often sending for him up stairs when Mr. Draper was gone out, and Penfold staid half an hour or an hour with her; they talked French together, and seemed very free, and this evidence thought her a woman of a very loose disposition; when she went into the room to them they have coloured, and seemed confused.

About Bartholomew tide, on a Sunday morning, one John Haylock belonging to the Cambridge coach or fly was at Mr. Draper's house, Mr. Draper was then in the country; Haylock was alone with Mrs. Draper in the dining room, next to which was a bed-chamber that opened by glass folding doors; when Haylock was gone, and Mrs. Draper was also gone out, she went into the bedchamber to dust it, and to her great surprize found the bed, which she had made in the morning, very much tumbled and pressed, as if two persons had lain on it cross ways, and not in the usual way from the foot to the head of the bed; that Mrs. Draper that morning seemed to take pains to get every body out of the way; for which reasons this evidence believed that John Haylock and Mrs. Draper had lain on that bed, and that they had then and there the carnal use and knowledge of each other's bodies.

John Haylock of Bishopsgate street, clerk to Messrs. Gillams, aged twenty one years, deposed, that he occasionally visited Mr. and Mrs. Draper for about the three last years; that he is not by law bound to depose to the charge of his having had a criminal and adulterous intercourse with Mrs. Draper; and further he cannot depose, only he did not think it prudent or becoming in Mrs. Draper, as a married woman, to come to the counting house window where he used to sit and stop at it; he had told her it was very imprudent of her, that the neighbours would observe her, which



which would injure her character, upon which she desisted.

Mrs. Rutt of Great Kirby street, deposed, that once when Mrs. Draper came to see her, she had two or three young fellows with her, who left her at this evidence's door; and that she had seen Mrs. Draper, when Penfold the apprentice came up stairs for Mr. Draper's great coat, kiss Penfold, which surprising this evidence, Mrs. Draper said Penfold was her cousin; but she believed Penfold was no relation either to Mr. or Mrs. Draper; from that, and Mrs. Draper's flighty behaviour at Ranelagh about a month afterwards, she looked on her to be a person of a loose disposition.

Joseph Marshall, of St. Ives Huntingdonshire, farmer and carrier, aged seventy, deposed that in March 1769, Mrs. Draper was on a visit at his house, and that on a Thursday evening about eight o'clock, when he had several friends with him, Mary Allen his housekeeper's daughter told him, that one John Lankester was up stairs in the bedchamber with Mrs. Draper, and that the door was locked; on hearing of which this evidence was in a passion, and ordered Mary Allen to tell Lankester to quit the house instantly, and to tell Mrs. Draper to prepare to go to London, for she should not stay in his house, and he would not sit down to another meal with her; after this he did not see Mrs. Draper, as she quitted his house next morning.

Mary Allen, spinster, aged twenty four years, deposed, that about March 1769, when Mrs. Draper was at Mr. Marshall's, she and Mrs. Draper went out to drink tea at Mr. Kendall's a grocer; after tea they took a walk, and on their return Mrs. Draper said she would call on Miss Lankester, sister of John Lankester, saying they had been civil to her, and that John Lankester had sent her to town a brace of partridges. This evidence declined going, and went home. About eight o'clock Mrs. Draper returned to Mr. Marshall's, and John Lankester with her, whom she asked to walk up stairs with her; and this evidence



lighted them up to Mrs. Draper's bedchamber, in which there was a fire, she and Mrs. Draper being to sup there, as Mr. Marshall had company below. This evidence sat down with them, soon afterwards Mrs. Draper desired her to go and to ch some almonds and raisins ; this raised her suspicions, and to shew that she did not approve of leaving them alone together, and to affront Mrs. Draper, she asked for money to pay for them ; on this Lankester gave her money, she then went and was absent a quarter of an hour. She and Mrs. Draper supped together, Lankester not eating any. After supper this evidence said she would go for some wine, and that she should not be back immediately, she then went down stairs, and came up again by the back stairs, pulled off her shoes, and went to listen at the door. There was a large hole near the lock, through which she could see all about the room ; they were then sitting by the fire, Mrs. Draper's bosom was quite naked, and Lankester put his hands into her bosom and kissed her several times. At this time the boards on which she was standing making a little noise, she heard Mrs. Draper say somebody was coming ; on which she retired into the next room, but soon returned, and looking through the hole, saw Mrs. Draper's head between Lankester's legs ; she retired again, but soon returned and looked through again, they had then left the fire place ; but the bed being near the door, she plainly heard them on it, and heard it crack and make a noise, as if persons were pressing upon it ; she also heard them whisper upon the bed ; she continued listening some minutes, and heard them whispering and in motion upon the bed, therefore she believed they committed the crime of adultery together. This evidence then went down the back stairs and put on her shoes, and afterwards went up the fore stairs running and making a noise, that Mrs. Draper and Lankester might not suspect she had been listening. When she came to the door it was fastened, and one of them let her in. Before she went up she had informed her mother, and had called out Mr. Marshall, and



and had informed him also of what she had seen and heard ; Mr. Marshall desired her to tell Mrs. Draper not to bring Lankester any more to his house, and to get home as fast as she could herself, for he would not sit down to another meal with her. This evidence told Mrs. Draper what Mr. Marshall had said, and she took a place in the St. Ives machine for London, and went off on Saturday.

John Lankester, leather merchant, of Sutton in the Isle of Ely, aged twenty two, deposed, that he had no acquaintance with Mr. Draper, but had known Mrs. Draper two or three years ; he first knew her by meeting her at Mr. Peacock's, a grocer at St. Ives ; that from some hints Mrs. Draper gave him the first time he saw her at Mr. Peacock's house, he imagined he might do just what he pleased with her ; therefore he asked her to come to his father's, to drink tea with his sister. In two or three days Mrs. Draper came, his father was from home, and he contrived to get his mother and sister into the shop about some business ; then Mrs. Draper and he went up stairs into his bedchamber, and the house being repairing, from thence into a little closet, and there he had carnal knowledge of Mrs. Draper with her consent, and committed adultery with her. That in March 1769, Mrs. Draper being on a visit at Mr. Marshall's, a carrier at St. Ives, she called at his father's house, and this evidence went with her to Marshall's, and up into a bedchamber, in company with one Molly Allen ; Mrs. Draper sent Molly Allen out of the room for some ruffs and almonds, and during her absence he had carnal knowledge of Mrs. Draper upon the bed in that bedchamber ; and that after Molly Allen returned, Mrs. Draper contrived to send her again away for some wine, and in her absence he again had the carnal knowledge of the said Mrs. Draper. A few days afterwards he met Mrs. Draper by appointment at Cambridge, at an inn, the sign of the wrestlers, and there had the carnal knowledge of the said Elizabeth Draper, and committed adultery with her.



James Delegal, of Bishopsgate street, engraver, aged twenty three, deposed, that for more than two years he had known Mr. and Mrs. Draper, frequently visiting them; that in summer 1769 he lodged in Broad street, and Mrs. Draper frequently called at his lodgings, and he was frequently at her husband's, at both which places Mrs. Draper frequently kissed him, and took many unbecoming familiarities with him, such as unbuttoning his breeches, and laying hold of his private parts, and shewing a desire that he should have a criminal conversation with her. And about the end of summer 1769, this evidence, Mr. and Mrs. Draper, and Mr. Woollner, were at Sadler's Wells, and during the performance, and whilst Mrs. Draper was talking to her husband in the next seat, she was very indecent with this evidence, unbuttoning his breeches, and putting her hand on his private parts; for which reasons he looked on her to be a woman of a lewd and vicious life. That out of his great regard and esteem for Mr. Draper, he used his endeavours to avoid any criminal correspondence with Mrs. Draper, and never had any criminal connection whatever with her.

Edward Goode of Great Kirby street Hatton Garden, linen draper, aged seventeen, deposed, that about the middle of April last year (1770) he came from Newark in Gloucestershire, to London, and went to dine with Mr. Draper, he then for the first time saw Mrs. Draper. Mr. Draper invited him to stay at his house till he got a place, and the next day he went there in consequence of this invitation. The first time he saw Mrs. Draper, she trod on his toes, and squeezed his hand, and not having an acquaintance with her he thought her in joke, and playing with him. The day after he had gone to Mr. Draper's, being sitting with her alone in the little dining room, Mr. Draper being gone down to the shop, Mrs. Draper asked him to go to the top of the house with her and see some pigeons; after having seen them, she laid hold of both his hands, pulled him into a room  
in



in which there was a bed, put her arms about his neck, kissed him, and swore she loved him; he told her it did not signify, that she was a married woman and tied from him, and that he would be doing wrong to encourage it. He then left the room and went down stairs, and as he was leaving the room she said to him "*blast your eyes.*" The next day Saturday, this evidence's mother, and one Mr. Godin, being at dinner with Mrs. Draper, they made an appointment to go to St. James's the next day. Accordingly at eight o'clock next morning he enquired of the servant maid if Mrs. Draper was up; the maid went up stairs, came down again, and told him Mrs. Draper desired him to come up to her. He went up, Mrs. Draper was in bed, and he holding the door in his hand asked what she wanted. She said "*come to bed to me.*" He turned about, made no answer, and left the room directly. Soon after Mrs. Draper came down dressed, into the little dining room on the first floor, and she came to him and sat down upon his knees, and made use of many amorous speeches, kissed him, put his hand upon her breasts, after which she placed herself across his legs, pulled up her petticoats, and said "*will you,*" on which he committed the crime of adultery with her. About three days afterwards, being in the little dining room with her after dinner, and Mr. Draper being gone below, Mrs. Draper came and sat upon his knees and kissed him, and then he also committed adultery with her. Several times after this Mrs. Draper wanted him to lie with her, but he refused for fear of being discovered, and she quarrelled with him on that account, and swore at him very much. While he was at Mr. Draper's house, Mrs. Draper often sent for Penfold, Mr. Draper's apprentice, to come up to her; this evidence on these occasions generally left the room; being once in the little dining room looking out of the window, and turning about, he saw Penfold kiss Mrs. Draper; after that he saw Penfold kiss her several times, and put his hands upon her breasts, and she would sit upon his knees.



knees. And on a Friday night in May, on which evening Mr. Draper went to Hartford, he being in a room next the little dining room, heard Mrs. Draper and Penfold talking together ; Mrs. Draper told Penfold that her husband would not be at home that night as he was going to Hartford, and she said to him, "*will you lie with me to night ?*" Penfold answered he would, and desired her not to lock the door. This evidence lay awake to hear him come, intending to speak to him ; about twelve o'clock Penfold came down stairs, and knocked at Mrs. Draper's door ; this evidence then jumped out of bed, and Penfold hearing the noise went up stairs again. That Mrs. Draper was a very loose and abandoned woman, and swore very much, and very few people visited her ; but *often two or three young fellows came running into the house, and went up stairs to her*, when Mr. Draper was absent, at which the apprentice and porter in the shop would laugh and say, *that these young fellows were gone to kiss their mistress.*

On Sunday in said May, as this evidence and Penfold were going to Greenwich, he mentioned to Penfold his appointment to lie with Mrs. Draper, when Penfold confessed he had often lain with her, and also said he suspected this evidence of the same, from what Mrs. Draper had dropped. This evidence also confessed that he had had criminal conversation with her. They both agreed to tell Mr. Draper of each other, which ever had the best opportunity ; first agreeing to inform Mrs. Draper by letter, that Penfold would have nothing further to do with her, and desiring her to reform ; but she still continued her solicitations to Penfold, and they determined to inform Mr. Draper of her behaviour ; and about a week after this evidence told Mr. Draper that Mrs. Draper had seduced William Penfold his apprentice, and that he had lain with her ; and the next evening, this evidence was called up stairs, when Mr. Draper accused his wife before him and several of her relations, of a criminal correspondence with Penfold ; and Mrs. Draper



per, seemingly with great sorrow and concern, confessed the same to be true.

Sentence of divorce from bed, board, and mutual cohabitation, passed in the usual form.

TRIAL OF

Mrs. DOROTHY GODFREY HANCKWITZ,

Wife of AMBROSE GODFREY HANCKWITZ, *Chymist*.

For ADULTERY with

Mr. GEORGE LAMBERTSON,

HER HUSBAND'S PARTNER.

*The Libel was given in to Doctor's Commons, January 24th, 1772.*

MISS Dorothy Ashcroft was married to Mr. Hanckwitz, chymist, the 22d of May 1756; upwards of fifteen years before the discovery of her incontinence was made, on November the second 1771.

The first witness was Thomas Lawrie, shopman to Mr. Hanckwitz. This evidence deposed that George Lambertson had lived some years with Mr. Hanckwitz as a journeyman, in Southampton street Covent Garden, and was at length admitted into partnership; and from that time lodged and boarded in Mr. Hanckwitz's house; that Lambertson and Mrs. Hanckwitz often sat up together in the parlour behind the shop after the rest of the family had gone to bed, which he well knew, because he lay in the shop next the parlour. On the twenty-first of September 1771 Mr. Hanckwitz went to Yorkshire on business, and did not return till about the first of November; that soon after his departure for Yorkshire, Lambertson's bed, in a room up three pair of stairs, was taken down on a pretence of having it cleaned, and Lambertson moved to a spare bed-



bedchamber next Mrs. Hanckwitz's bedchamber; but a few days before Mr. Hanckwitz's return his bed was again fitted up for him in the three pair of stairs room. On Sunday the twenty-seventh of October about eight in the morning he went up to Lambertson's bedchamber to call him, he found his cloaths laying about the room, but Lambertson was not in bed, nor was his bed in the least tumbled; then not seeing Lambertson's night cap and slippers in the room, he suspected he was in bed with Mrs. Hanckwitz; he went softly to her door and listened, and distinctly heard them talking, and by the sound of their voices he imagined they were in bed together; he then went down stairs leaving the door open. On the 31st of October, at seven o'clock in the morning, a message came from a patient of Lambertson's, desiring his attendance, having had a bad night, he then went up to Lambertson's door in the three pair of stairs, but suspecting Mrs. Hanckwitz to be in bed with him, he went up stairs without his shoes, and listened near five minutes at the door, heard him and Mrs. Hanckwitz talking together, and he believed in his conscience they were then in bed together, for on looking through the key hole, he saw Lambertson's cloaths on a chair; he also believed they had carnal use and knowledge of each other, and committed adultery together. After listening, he called Lambertson and delivered the message, to which Lambertson answered he was coming. This evidence also deposed to Lambertson's hand writing in a letter from him to Mrs. Hanckwitz, and that by the words "*kirjed affair*" Lambertson meant his criminal correspondence with Mrs. Hanckwitz. That on the discovery on November the second Mrs. Hanckwitz quitted the house.

Sarah Hubbard, spinster, aged twenty-eight, deposed that she had lived in Mr. and Mrs. Hanckwitz's service for near two years preceeding January 1771; that in September 1770 after having been in the country a fortnight to see her friends, Mary Bassett on her return told her there was something extraordinary in the



the behaviour of Mrs. Hanckwitz and Lambertson; and she also observing great familiarities between them, began to suspect they carried on an adulterous correspondence, which she determined to find out if possible; therefore one evening in the same month she resolved to sit up and watch them, Mr. Hanckwitz being out of town and not expected home that night. About eleven o'clock she went up stairs under pretence of going to bed, leaving Mrs. Hanckwitz and Lambertson in the parlour, but instead of going to bed she went from a back room up one pair of stairs, where she lay, upon the leads which commanded a view of the stair case, and of the windows of Mrs. Hanckwitz's bedchamber; soon after she had got upon the leads, she saw Lambertson following Mrs. Hanckwitz up stairs, with two lighted candles in his hands; they both went into Mrs. Hanckwitz's bedchamber, and shut the door after them; immediately after, she saw Lambertson open the inside window shutters and draw the window curtains close. This evidence then came from the leads into the back dining room, which was directly under Mrs. Hanckwitz's bedchamber, and heard Mrs. Hanckwitz and Lambertson talking together; they remained in the bedchamber a quarter of an hour, when Lambertson came out, went down into the kitchen, and soon after returned into Mrs. Hanckwitz's bedchamber, where he staid, about half an hour, when they were disturbed by Mr. Hanckwitz coming home unexpectedly, and knocking at the street door. This evidence whilst they were in the room together, believed they had the carnal use and knowledge of each other, and committed the crime of adultery.

Mary Bassett, aged twenty-eight, deposed, she went to live with them as a servant in December 1769, and continued till March 1771; that great and indecent familiarities used to pass between Lambertson and Mrs. Hanckwitz in her husband's absence; they used to sit up in the parlour, after the rest of the family were gone to bed, Mrs. Hanckwitz paid the greatest  
at-



attention to Lambertson, never seeming happy but in his company; in the day time they were sometimes alone together in one of the bedchambers for a considerable time; once she found Mrs. Hanckwitz's bed with a dent on it, as if it had been lain on; the dent was very discoverable, though an attempt had been made to put it to rights, and Lambertson and Mrs. Hanckwitz had just before come out of that bedchamber; another time when they came out of Mrs. Hanckwitz's bedchamber, she observed a dent on the bed as if some person had been lying on it; from which circumstance she suspected them of an adulterous correspondence. This determined her to watch them. Accordingly one night in September or October 1770, when Mr. Hanckwitz was in the country, Mrs. Hanckwitz having informed her that when she had put her, Mrs. Hanckwitz's mother to bed, she might go to bed herself, she having put the old lady to bed, instead of going to bed herself, watched Mrs. Hanckwitz and Lambertson into Mrs. Hanckwitz's bedchamber, where they fastened the door after them; and she believed they lay together naked and alone in the same bed, all or part of that night, and had carnal use and knowledge of each other. Next morning she went to make the bed, but found it made, on which she said to Mrs. Hanckwitz, that she had made her bed herself, at which Mrs. Hanckwitz coloured very much. Another morning soon after, going to make Mrs. Hanckwitz's bed, she found Lambertson's dirty shirts and cloaths lying upon it.

Elizabeth Fulcher, spinster, aged twenty-two, deposed, that she had lived with Mr. and Mrs. Hanckwitz upwards of a twelvemonth; that on the second of November last, Mr. Hanckwitz turned his wife out of the house for her adulterous connection with Lambertson, which had been discovered to him the day before; and that she believed Mrs. Hanckwitz to be a very loose and abandoned woman, and of a lustful and wicked disposition. That she had seen many amorous and indecent familiarities pass between them; particularly



Early Mrs. Hanckwitz sitting on Lambertson's knee, whilst he has been kissing her, and she at the same time wantonly stroking his face. On a Sunday, beginning of 1771, when Mr. Hanckwitz was out of town, Mrs. Hanckwitz pretended to be ill, and kept up stairs, Thomas Lawrie a shopman being sent out, and Mary Godfrey, widow, sister to Mr. Hanckwitz, being at church, Lambertson desired this evidence to stay in the shop, and to ring the bell if any customer should come. He then went up stairs, in about a quarter of an hour a customer came, the bell was rung, and she waited some time in expectation of Lambertson's coming, but he not coming, she went up to his bedchamber door and attempted to open it, but found it fastened; on listening she heard him and Mrs. Hanckwitz talking, and from the sound of their voices believed they were lying on the bed together, and that they then had the carnal use and knowledge of each other; she called several times, and knocked, before she received an answer, and after she received an answer it was several minutes before Lambertson came down stairs. When Mr. Hanckwitz came home in the evening, his wife appeared very well, and supped as usual, though she had pretended to be ill in the former part of the day; Lambertson also frequently went into Mrs. Hanckwitz's dressing room when her husband was out, and there generally behaved in a very familiar and amorous manner, and took many indecent liberties with Mrs. Hanckwitz, at which she appeared very well pleased. On such occasions this evidence was frequently sent out of the room on various pretences, and they continued alone together. Also, Lambertson when Mrs. Hanckwitz's husband was absent, often went into her bedchamber, when she was naked in bed, and they have continued together there a considerable time, and this evidence believed had the carnal use and knowledge of each other. One night after they had been so together for an hour, and just parted, this evidence went in to warm the bed for her master, and when she had warmed it,



Mrs. Hanckwitz got into it, and said "*if your master asks for me say I am asleep.*" Another night when Lambertson had been with her, and had left her, she went into bed, and on Mr. Hanckwitz's coming in soon after, and speaking to her, she pretended to be just awaked out of a sleep. In March 1771, Mr. Hanckwitz was afflicted with the gout and lay alone; Mrs. Hanckwitz generally slept with Mr. Hanckwitz's sister Mrs. Godfrey; but one night Mrs. Hanckwitz went with Lambertson into his bedchamber, where they lay together all night; for next morning when this evidence and her fellow servant were making Lambertson's bed, they observed the marks of two persons having lain in it, and found several pins in the bed; but on making Mr. Hanckwitz's bed, and Mrs. Godfrey's, there was only the mark of one person having lain in each of them. In September Mr. Hanckwitz went down to Yorkshire. Here this evidence deposed to the taking down the bed the same as in Lawrie's evidence. During the whole time Mr. Hanckwitz was absent, she believed that Mrs. Hanckwitz and Lambertson lay almost every night together, either in Lambertson's bedchamber or in Mrs. Hanckwitz's bedchamber, for Lambertson's bed was sometimes for a week together neither lain in nor made. On the morning when Lambertson was absent from his bed, she and Jane Yeoman's, in making that of Mrs. Hanckwitz, found always two pillows in it, and plainly saw the marks of two persons having lain in it. At other times Mrs. Hanckwitz's bed was neither lain in nor made for several nights, she having on these nights lain with Lambertson in his bed; and in the mornings after, Jane Yeomans observed the marks of two persons in Lambertson's bed. On the first night that Mrs. Hanckwitz lay with Lambertson in his bed after her husband's departure for Yorkshire, Mrs. Hanckwitz had her menses or monthly courses on her, and when she and Yeomans made Lambertson's bed in the morning, they not only saw the marks of two persons having lain in the bed, but also plainly



plainly saw several marks and stains on the under sheet, occasioned by Mrs. Hanckwitz's monthly courses; they also found pins in the bed; after having made the bed she asked Mrs. Hanckwitz if she was not out of order, meaning if she had not her monthly courses on her, which Mrs. Hanckwitz acknowledged. These circumstances were also known to this evidence by other means, besides the stains on the sheets. When Lambertson lay with Mrs. Hanckwitz in her bed, she and Yeomans often found his dimity night cap in the bed. Lambertson's bed was put up in the three pair of stairs room, on the 28th of October, Mr. Hanckwitz being expected home, and Mrs. Hanckwitz sheeted it herself, she also carried his pillows out of his bedchamber into her own. This evidence and Yeomans were curious to know where Mrs. Hanckwitz and Lambertson would sleep that night, they therefore sat up to watch, and saw Lambertson and Mrs. Hanckwitz go into her own bedchamber, Lambertson came out in ten minutes, and went up into his own chamber, making more than usual noise, but in a quarter of an hour he came gently down again, and went into Mrs. Hanckwitz's bedchamber, and they heard the door bolted after he was in. After that they listened at the door and heard them talking together in bed. They watched till two o'clock, but Lambertson did not come out. Next morning they went into Lambertson's bedchamber between nine and ten o'clock to make the bed, but there was no occasion, for nobody had lain in it; but in Mrs. Hanckwitz's bed they observed plainly that two persons had lain in it. And on the morning of the 31st of October she and Yeomans went to make Mrs. Hanckwitz bed, but found no person had lain in it the preceding night, but on going to Lambertson's, they found two persons had lain in it. Mrs. Hanckwitz was sent away the 2d of November.

Jane Yeomans, spinster, aged nineteen, deposed to the same particulars already given in the evidences of Lawrie and Fulcher.



John Owen, apothecary, aged twenty-five, deposed, that he lived as a shopman with Mr. Hanckwitz from June till some time in October 1771, and saw many indecent familiarities between Lambertson and Mrs. Hanckwitz, in kissing each other, and stroking each other's faces; and one day being in the shop, when Lambertson and Mrs. Hanckwitz were in the parlour behind it, the curtains on the inside of the door of communication between the parlour and shop, not being close drawn over the upper part of the door, which was glass, he saw Mrs. Hanckwitz put Lambertson's shirt over his naked body, by the parlour fire. On the 8th of October 1771, about twelve at night, he heard a tapping at Mrs. Hanckwitz's bedchamber door, and suspecting it was Lambertson, he went gently out of his room, which was a story higher than Mrs. Hanckwitz's, and when the door was opened, by the light in the room he saw Lambertson in his shirt go into her bedchamber, and then the door was bolted again; after which he heard the bed in the room crack, and he believed that they lay together that night and had the carnal use and knowledge of each other. This evidence also deposed to Lambertson's hand writing in a letter addressed to Mr. Hanckwitz, and that by the words "*kisfed affair*," Lambertson meant his criminal correspondence with Mrs. Hanckwitz.

John Peck, of Ludgate hill, grocer, aged forty-three, deposed, that in the morning of November the 2d last, Mr. Hanckwitz in his way further into the city called on him, and seemed very chearful and full of spirits, but calling again on his return, he seemed very unhappy and much agitated, and informed this evidence, he had been told of an adulterous correspondence between his wife and Lambertson his partner, and asked the advice of this evidence how he should act in the affair. He advised to lose no time in enquiring into the matter, and at Mr. Hanckwitz's request went home with him; when some other friends being also sent for, the servants were examined, and this



this evidence was soon convinced the information was true. Mr. Hanckwitz then desired this evidence and two other friends to go up stairs with him to Mrs. Hanckwitz and talk to her about her conduct; they went, and Mr. Hanckwitz charged her with her adulterous intercourse with Lambertson. She at first denied it, but on being charged with the particulars of it, she confessed she had committed adultery with Lambertson both in her own bed and in Lambertson's bed. That evening Mr. Hanckwitz sent his wife away.

George Holland, oilman in the Strand, aged forty eight, deposed, that Mr. Hanckwitz sent for him the 2d of November, to come to his house in Southampton street, Covent garden wishing to tax his wife with her infidelity before a few friends. When this evidence came, Mr. Stevens, attorney to Mr. Hanckwitz, was present. The servants were examined, and Mrs. Hanckwitz's guilt clearly appeared. Mr. Hanckwitz then went up stairs to tax his wife with her infidelity, desiring this evidence and Mr. Peck to come up to him when he should ring the bell. Mr. Hanckwitz soon rung for them; and they went up to the room where Mrs. Hanckwitz was, in company with Mr. Hanckwitz's sister, and another gentlewoman, whom he did not know. Mr. Hanckwitz then accused his wife with her adultery with Lambertson. She at first denied it. But being informed of the clearness of the proofs against her, she confessed she had lain with him, both in his bed, and in her own bed. She was sent out of the house that evening.

John Bayner, porter, deposed to carrying a letter from Mr. Lambertson, at the Castle tavern, Henrietta street, Covent garden, to Mr. Hanckwitz at nine o'clock in the evening on the 5th of November last. This was the letter deposed to by some of the witnesses, which contained the expression, "*lived affair.*"

Zachary Stephens, of Chancery lane, gentleman, deposed, that he had been employed by Mr. Hanck-



witz, in an action against Mr. Lambertson, on the 2d of November last; that he took out an action against him, and the writ was served the same day; the action was brought to trial the 5th of December, in the court of King's Bench, and a verdict given for Mr. Hanckwitz against Mr. Lambertson, with five hundred pounds and costs of suit, for committing adultery with Mrs. Hanckwitz.

Sentence of divorce from bed, board, and mutual cohabitation, passed in the usual form.

TRIAL OF

Mr. SAMUEL EUCLID OLIVER,

For INCESTUOUS ADULTERY with

Miss ELIZABETH JANE HOSKINGS,

HIS WIFE'S SISTER.

*The Libel also stated, that Miss Hoskings becoming pregnant, Mr. Oliver applied to Mrs. Catherine Clarke, a midwife in Fleet street, to procure him some medicines to cause an abortion, and that the pills she gave him, were by him, administered to Miss Hoskings.*

*Libel given in to Deſtor's Commons, February 3d, 1774.*

ON the 29th of December 1768, Mr. Oliver was married to Miss Sarah Hoskings, at the parish church of East Greenwich, in Kent. Before this trial he had three children by his wife, two sons and a daughter.

Elizabeth Jane Hoskings, spinster, aged seventeen years, deposed, that Mr. Oliver had married her sister, and that they lived together as husband and wife, in St. Martin's church yard, and St. Martin's lane; that in December 1772, Mr. Oliver was taken into partnership with her father, with whom she then lived, and

Mr.



Mr. Oliver having free access to her father's house, she became intimately acquainted with him; and that from December 1772 to September 1773, a criminal correspondence was carried on between them. One morning in the month of December 1772, Mr. Oliver came into her bedchamber, which was up three pair of stairs, and finding her in bed and alone, he pulled down the bed cloaths, and attempted to lie with her, and to have carnal knowledge of her; but on her resisting him with her utmost force, and threatening to cry out, and alarm the family below stairs, he desisted, and went out of her bedchamber. She then got up and dressed herself, but as she was on the landing place, intending to go down stairs, Mr. Oliver laid hold of her, and pulled her into the workshop, which is on the same floor with her bedchamber, and pulled her down on a bench in the workshop, and notwithstanding she resisted him all in her power, he then and there debauched her, and lay with her, and Mr. Oliver and she had carnal knowledge of each other, and committed adultery together. She was extremely frightened, and went down stairs to breakfast. The next morning, as she was coming out of her room, Mr. Oliver again pulled her into the workshop, and they again had carnal knowledge of each other. And between December 1772 and September 1773, they very frequently had carnal knowledge of each other in the said workshop. Also Mr. Oliver and she had once carnal knowledge of each other's body in Mr. Oliver's dining room in St. Martin's lane. One morning in the year 1773, she and Mr. Oliver were in the workshop, and she was sitting on a bench with her cloaths up, and Mr. Oliver with his breeches down, with an intent to have carnal knowledge of each other, when they saw Elizabeth Pinman going into the evidence's room, the workshop door then being open; on which Mr. Oliver hastened into a corner of the workshop, holding up his unbuttoned breeches with his hands; and they were both so much frightened they had not carnal knowledge of each



each other that day. In August last (1773) she found herself extremely ill and sick, and being afraid to inform her mother of it, she acquainted Mr. Oliver. When she described her illness to him, he said she was with child, and that he must procure medicines to prevent it coming to light. These medicines she at first refused to take, but after earnest intreaties he prevailed on her to take draughts and pills to cause an abortion, but these medicines did not take effect. Soon after he fetched more draughts and pills, and left with her the following letter of directions how to take them.

“ Dear Betsey,

“ In the midst of my troubles, *don't* you afflict me, my *conscience* being a sufficient tormentor, yet I hope you will think a little favourable of me, *tho* the world may *dispiſe* me, I hope you will pity me, for 'tis I who am the guilty person, and it is me on whom the chiefest vengeance will be shewn, to refuse me a kiss I think unkind, and cuts me to the heart, *especially* when I reflect on what is past, dear Betsey all may be well if you will take the things *regular*, if you will I never will force myself into *you* company, against your desire, pray take them for the sake of your dearself, you poor mother, sister, child, and the most wretched

“ S. E. OLIVER.

“ Pray burn this as soon as you have read it. Pray take the large *pottle* three times every day, to avoid the storm that will gather again in a few days, for if you neglect it now it must be discovered. Remember the faithful promise you made last week to me.”

In September 1775, being several months gone with child, and the medicines given her by Mr. Oliver not taking effect, she became extremely ill, and was forced to discover her situation to her mother; and her mother acquainting her father with her criminal correspondence with her brother in law, which

com-



coming to Mr. Oliver's knowledge, he wrote the following letter, and sent it to her father by William Oliver, his brother.

" S I R,

" As you are acquainted with a transaction I could wish had never happened, it cannot be supposed we can *carry* on business together any longer; the thing itself will not bear any defence, therefore shall not attempt to make any; for even was it possible for you to forgive, I never could look in your face with pleasure, and if infinite mercy does not exceed infinite justice, I fear I never shall see my creator.

" In whatever light you may look on the fatal transaction, you cannot look at it in a more *horrible* one than I do; I have sinned against knowledge, the greater must be my condemnation, but God's mercy is great, and I hope, by a sincere repentance to obtain that from him I cannot expect from man."

The night before Mr. Oliver was served with the citation in this cause, which was the 9th of October, he came to her father's, and behaved in a very abusive and riotous manner, endeavouring to strike her father, and threatening to murder him, and also his own wife Mrs. Sarah Oliver, if they proceeded in the cause against him. He was taken to the watch house by a constable, but he came again next morning, and behaved in the same riotous manner, threatening to murder the whole family; on which he was carried before justice Kynaston, who committed him to Tothill fields Bridewell. He procured bail and was released, and was tried for the assault on her father; she was an evidence on the trial, and he was sentenced to be imprisoned and fined. He was imprisoned again in Tothill fields Bridewell, from whence he wrote a letter to her father and mother, which she heard her mother read.

" Dear Sir and Madam,

" Though I wish I was worthy to call you by another name, I wish my actions had been equal to your  
de-



deserts; I am *sorry* that I have been guilty of a crime, so *beineas* in the sight of God and man; so contrary to nature and the solemn vow I made: I am *sorry* for the heart-felt sorrow you must feel, and wish it was in my power to bear the weight of your afflictions with my own: and if you, who are innocent of the cause, are so wretched, think what I must feel, who am alone the guilty person, 'tis me alone that *feels* the pangs of a wounded conscience. Oh! that conscience, that never-failing monitor, had restrained me once, as it now rises up in judgment against me, and is, and ever will be a perpetual tormentor. View me one day respected, esteemed, now neglected, despised and justly persecuted. View me at once in favour with a virtuous and affectionate wife; by her deserted and abandoned; see me in prison with ironed felons, nothing but oaths of the most horrid nature uttered, fearful of being *robbed* even in bed, rats ready to devour me as I lay, having made a hole in my coat pocket, to eat what I should have eat for my supper. Sleep has been a stranger to my eyes, since I have been in this horrid place. I am willing to make any acknowledgment, and will agree to any to make you *easy*, provided my wife is restored to me; without her I cannot live, for were I at liberty now, it would be impossible for me to do any business; without her this loathsome prison will be as agreeable as a palace; with her I can and will endure any thing. Pray consider my distress, and let mercy overcome justice. If it must be that we must *separate*, I do not desire you to put yourself to an *unnecessary* expence, I will consent to articles of *separation*, which will save a deal of *unnecessary* charge; but God forbid either should take place where I am; I am at a great expence, and incapable of being of any service to myself, or unhappy family.

From the most wicked but repentant

SAMUEL EUCLID OLIVER.

October 12, 1773.

N. B.



N. B. I hope my distress will be an excuse for any inaccuracies that may appear in this letter."

*Superscription*, "To Mr. or Mrs. Hoskings these."

Elizabeth Tinman, spinster, aged fourteen, apprentice to Elizabeth Hoskings, Mrs. Oliver's mother, deposed, that Mr. Oliver, from December 1772, used to be often alone with Miss Hoskings, (his sister in law) that she had seen him often kiss Miss Hoskings, and take indecent liberties with her in the house of Mr. Hoskings, her father. That on a Monday morning in winter 1773, when this evidence went into Miss Hoskings's room to put on her cap, she observed Miss Hoskings in the workshop, which was opposite to the room, sitting with her petticoats up, and Mr. Oliver close by her, with his breeches down and unbuttoned; that Mr. Oliver seeing this evidence, ran into a corner of the workshop, holding up his breeches, and that he and Miss Hoskings appeared in a great fright and very much confused.

Elizabeth Hoskings, wife of James Hoskings, in St. Martin's lane, aged fifty one, deposed, that Mr. Oliver married her daughter Sarah, they had three children, two of them are since dead; that her daughter Elizabeth Hoskings, being extremely ill towards the end of last summer, she enquired of her the cause of her illness, on which her daughter Elizabeth, with great difficulty and distress of mind, informed her, that Mr. Oliver (her brother in law) had ruined and debauched her, and gave her a paper which Mr. Oliver had brought that same day. This was the letter of directions given in Miss Hoskings's evidence. She sent for a midwife, who said her daughter Elizabeth was three months gone with child, and had been hurt with taking stuffs. Her daughter told her Mr. Oliver had the medicines as she believed from Mrs. Clarke in order to destroy the child. On the 8th of October last (1773) Oliver, to intimidate his wife from proceeding in this cause, came to the house of her husband James Hoskings, Mrs. Oliver's father, and assaulted



faulted him, struck him several times, and made his head bleed, for which Oliver was taken to the watch house, but he got out there, and attempted to break into the house; but next morning justice Kynaston committed him to Tothill fields Bridewell. Oliver was tried for this assault, fined ten pounds, and imprisoned one month. This evidence also deposed to the letter, addressed to her husband and her, which he wrote when committed to Bridewell.

Catherine Clarke, of Fleet street, St. Dunstan's in the West, widow, aged forty five, deposed, that she had been intimately acquainted with Oliver for more than ten years; that he had been apprentice to Mr. Rackstrow, who was in partnership with her; that she advertises medicines to prevent miscarriages, obstructions, and other disorders incident to married women. That last summer Oliver applied to her for pills for a young woman in the country, who was not regular; that she interrogated him concerning the young woman's constitution, and asked if she was with child; and he replied, he did not know, but if she was, she could not be so above a month; he then said, suppose she was, would the pills make her miscarry. She answered they would not, not did she know of any medicines that would, and if he wanted them for that purpose, they would be of no use to him. Oliver bought a box of the pills and went away, and applied for no more medicines to her.

Sentence of divorce from bed, board and mutual cohabitation passed in the usual form.



TRIAL OF

ELIZABETH Duchess Dowager of KINGSTON,

Indicted by the name of

ELIZABETH, Wife of AUGUSTUS JOHN HERVEY, Esq;

For B I G A M Y,

B E F O R E

The Right Honourable the HOUSE of PEERS

In Westminster Hall, in FULL PARLIAMENT.

On the 15th, 16th, 19th, 20th, and 22d of April 1776; on the last of which days, the said Elizabeth Duchess Dowager of Kingston was found guilty.

**M**ISS Elizabeth Chudleigh was daughter of colonel Thomas Chudleigh, late of Chelsea College. She was born about the year 1726; came to London when fourteen years of age; was appointed maid of honour to the late princess of Wales in 1743; was married to the honourable Augustus Hervey, in the parish church of Lainston, August the 4th 1744, being then about eighteen; disagreements between her and her husband having arisen, she instituted a suit in the Commons for a jactitation of marriage in 1768, and Mr. Hervey being equally willing to get free from his connection with her, the sentence in the Commons was procured by collusion, as is said by the counsel for the prosecution in this trial. The 5th of March 1769, being then forty three years of age, she married the duke of Kingston. His grace died September 23d 1773, leaving the duchess his whole fortune for her life. The duke by his will disinherited his eldest nephew Evelyn Meadows, Esq; but after the death of the duchess, the fortune was to go to the second nephew Charles Meadows, Esq; and his heirs, and failing them, to the younger brothers of the same family. Evelyn Meadows, Esq; was the prosecutor in this cause. At the time of this trial the duchess was fifty years old. Her being found guilty threw her back on



her real husband Mr. Hervey, then earl of Bristol. The duchess is now fifty four.

Monday April 15th, about ten o'clock her majesty entered the centre box of his grace of Newcastle's gallery, which had been prepared for her majesty and the royal family.

At the same time the procession of the lords from their own house, into the court erected in Westminster hall, was made in the following manner.

Lord high steward's attendants two and two; clerks of the house of peers and clerks of the crown; masters in chancery; judges; peers eldest sons; peers minors; heralds, sergeants at arms; yeoman usher; barons, the juniors first; bishops; viscounts; earls; marquesses; dukes; sergeants at arms; garter king at arms and usher of the black rod.

Henry earl Bathurst, chancellor, and lord high steward; alone.

His royal highness the duke of Cumberland.

His majesty's commission was read, during which all the peers and auditors stood up uncovered.

The serjeant at arms made proclamation for her grace to surrender, on this she entered the court with her attendants. Proclamation was made for the usher of the black rod to bring his prisoner to the bar. Her grace was brought to the bar, and when she approached it she made three reverences, and then fell upon her knees at the bar.

Lord high steward. Madam you may rise. The prisoner rose up and curtsied to his grace and the house, which compliment was returned.

The lord high steward then addressed her grace, "madam, you stand indicted for having married a second husband, your first husband being living. A crime so destructive of the peace and happiness of private families, and so injurious in its consequences to the welfare and good order of society, that by the statute law of this kingdom, it was for many years, in your sex, punishable with death; the lenity however of later times has substituted a milder punishment in its stead."



stead." He then mentioned that she was allowed the privilege of being tried by her peers, and that from them she would meet with nothing but justice tempered with humanity.

She was then arraigned by the clerk of the crown in the king's bench, that on the 8th of March, in the 9th year of George III. being then the wife of Augustus John Hervey Esq; now a peer, she feloniously did marry the duke of Kingston, her former husband being alive. And that on the 4th of August, in the 18th of George II. at Lainston in Southampton, by the name of Elizabeth Chudleigh, she married Augustus John Hervey, and that being the wife of the said Augustus John Hervey, on the 8th of March, in the 9th year of George III. she feloniously did marry the duke of Kingston, her former husband being alive. He then asked. Are you guilty of the felony or not guilty? her grace answered, "*I am not guilty.*"

The lord high steward, with the leave of their lordships, came down to the table for the conveniency of hearing.

The duchess then desired leave to offer their lordships the sentence of the consistory court of the bishop of London, by which it had been decreed, that she was free from all matrimonial contracts with Mr. Hervey; and she was advised to offer it to their lordships *as conclusive, and that no other evidence ought to be received or stated to their lordships.*

Part of the 15th, all the 16th, and part of the 19th, were taken up in hearing counsel for and against the conclusiveness of this sentence of the ecclesiastical court, and in hearing the proceedings of that court read.

After the court met on the 19th, lord Ravensworth got up and said, "*My lords, I beg leave to propose a question to the counsel at the bar, previous to going further into this cause.—Is the sentence of the ecclesiastical court final and conclusive in this instance or not?*"

Lord Mansfield. *If the noble lord means, is there any precedent for setting aside such decision? there certainly is*



not.—As to his lordship's other question, it has been THESE THREE DAYS, and NOW IS, the subject of debate amongst the counsel at the bar.

The lords adjourned to their own house, where the judges gave their opinion unanimously,

*That a sentence in the spiritual court against a marriage was NOT CONCLUSIVE evidence, so as to stop the counsel for the crown from proving the marriage in an indictment for polygamy. That admitting such sentence to be conclusive upon such indictment, the counsel for the Crown may be admitted to avoid the effect of such sentence, by proving it to have been obtained by fraud or collusion.*

In consequence of this determination the lords returned into court, and the duchess being brought again to the bar, the attorney general was commanded to go on with the prosecution.

Mr. Thurlow, attorney general, (*now lord chancellor*) opened the indictment; as his speech contains a very clear and curious history of her grace's life from a very early age, we shall give it here.

My lords, It seems to be matter of just surprise, that, before the commencement of the last century, no secular punishment had been provided for a crime of this malignant complexion and pernicious example.

Perhaps, the innocence of simpler ages, or the more prevailing influence of religion, or the severity of ecclesiastical censures, together with those calamities which naturally and necessarily follow the enormity, might formerly have been found sufficient to restrain it.

From the moment these causes ceased to produce that effect, imagination can scarcely state a crime, which calls more loudly, and in a greater variety of respects, for the interposition of civil authority; which, besides the gross and open scandal given to religion, implies more cruel disappointment to the just and honourable expectations of the persons betrayed by it; which tends more to corrupt the purity of domestic life, and to loosen those sacred connections and close relations, designed by providence to bind the moral world together; or which may create more civil disorder, especially



cially in a country, where the title to great honour and high office is hereditary.

My lords, the misfortunes of individuals, the corruption of private life, the confusion of domestic relations, the disorder of civil succession, and the offence done to religion, are suggested, not as ingredients in the particular offence now under trial, but as miseries likely to arise from the example of the crime in general; and are laid before your lordships, only to call your attention to the course and order of the trial, that nothing may fall out that may give countenance to such a crime, and heighten such dangers to the public.

The present case, to state it justly and fairly, is stripped of much of this aggravation. The advanced age of the parties, and their previous habits of life, would reduce many of these general articles of mischief and criminality to idle topicks of empty declamation. No part of the present complaint turns upon any ruin, brought on the blameless character of injured innocence; or upon any disappointment incurred to just and honourable pretensions; or upon any corruption supposed to be introduced into domestic life. Nor should I expect much serious attention of your lordships, if I should urge the danger of intailing an uncertain condition upon a helpless offspring, or the apprehension of a disputed succession to the house of Pierrepont, as probable aggravations of this crime.

But your lordships will be pleased withal to remember, that every plea, which, in a case differently circumstanced, might have laid claim to your pity for an unfortunate passion in younger minds, is entirely cut off here. If it be true, that the sacred rights of matrimony have been violated, I am afraid it must also appear, that dire lucre was the whole inducement, cold fraud the only means to perpetrate that crime. In truth, the evidence, if it turns out correspondent to the expectations I have formed, will clearly and expressly represent it at a matter of perfect indifference



to the prisoner, *which* husband she adhered to, so that the profit to be drawn from *this marriage*, or from *that*, was tolerably equal. The crime, stated under these circumstances, and carrying this impression, is an offence to the law ; which, if it be less aggravated in some particulars, becomes only more odious in others.

But I decline making general observations upon the evidence. I will state it to your lordships (for it lies in a very narrow compass) in the simplest and shortest manner I can invent. The facts (as the state of the evidence promises me they will be laid before your lordships) form a case, which it will be quite impossible to aggravate, and extremely difficult to extenuate.

My lords, considering the length of time which has intervened, a very few periods will comprise the facts, which I am able to lay before your lordships. First, the marriage of the prisoner with Mr. Hervey ; her cohabitation with him at broken and distant intervals ; the birth of a child in consequence of it ; the rupture, and separation which soon followed. Secondly, the attempt, which the prisoner, in view to the late lord Bristol's then state of health, made to establish the proofs of her marriage with the present earl. Lastly, the plan, which makes the immediate subject of the present indictment, for bringing about the celebration of a second marriage with the late duke of Kingston.

The prisoner came to London early in life, some time, as I take it, about the year 1740. About 1743, she was introduced into the family of the late princess of Wales, as her maid of honour. In the summer 1744 she contracted an acquaintance with Mr. Hervey ; which begins the matter of the present indictment. This acquaintance was contracted by the mere accident of an interview at Winchester races. The familiarity immediately began ; and very soon drew to its conclusion.

Miss Chudleigh was about eighteen years of age ; and resided at the house of a Mr. Merrill, her cousin, on a visit with a Mrs. Hammer, her aunt, who was also the sister of Mr. Merrill's mother. One Mr.

Moun-



Mountenay, an intimate friend of Mr. Merrill's, was there at the same time.

Mr. Hervey was a boy about seventeen years old, of small fortune, but the younger son of a noble family. He was lieutenant of the Cornwall, which made part of Sir John Davers's squadron, then lying at Portsmouth, and destined for the West Indies. In short, he appeared to Mrs. Hanmer an advantageous match for her niece.

From Winchester races he was invited to Lainston; and carried the ladies to see his ship at Portsmouth. The August following, he made a second visit at Lainston for two or three days; during which the marriage was contracted, celebrated, and consummated.

Some circumstances, which I have already alluded to, and others, which it is immaterial to state particularly, rendered it impossible, or improvident, in a degree next to impossible, that such a marriage should be celebrated solemnly, or publicly given out to the world. The fortune of both was insufficient to maintain them in that situation, to which his birth, and her ambition had pretensions. The income of her place would have failed. And the displeasure of the noble family, to which he belonged, rendered it impossible on his part to avow the connection. The consequence was, that they agreed without hesitation to keep the marriage secret. It was necessary for that purpose to celebrate it with the utmost privacy; and accordingly no other witnesses were present, but such as had been apprised of the connection, and were thought necessary to establish the fact, in case it should ever be disputed.

Lainston is a small parish, the value of the living being about fifteen pounds a year; Mr. Merrill's the only house in it; and the parish church at the end of his garden. On the 4th of August 1744, Mr. Amis, the then rector, was appointed to be at church, alone, late at night. At eleven o'clock, Mr. Hervey and Miss Chudleigh went out, as if to walk in the garden; followed by Mrs. Hanmer, her servant (whose maiden



den name I forget; she is now called Ann Cradock, having married Mr. Hervey's servant of that name) Mr. Merrill, and Mr. Mountenay; which last carried a taper to read the service by. They found Mr. Amis in the church, according to his appointment; and there the service was celebrated, Mr. Mountenay holding the taper in his hat. The ceremony being performed, Mrs. Hanmer's maid was dispatched to see that the coast was clear; and they returned into the house, without being observed by any of the servants. I mention these small circumstances because they happen to be recollected by the witness.

The marriage was consummated the same night; and he lay with her two or three nights following; after which he was obliged to return to his ship, which had received sailing orders.

Miss Chudleigh went back, as had been agreed, to her station of maid of honour in the family of the princess dowager. Mr. Hervey sailed in November following for the West Indies; and remained there till August 1746, when he set sail for England. In the month of October following he landed at Dover, and resorted to his wife, who then lived, by the name of Miss Chudleigh, in Conduit street. She received him as her husband, and entertained him accordingly, as far as consisted with their plan of keeping the marriage secret. In the latter end of November in the same year, Mr. Hervey sailed for the Mediterranean, and returned in the month of January 1747, and staid here till May in the same year. Mean while she continued to reside in Conduit street, and he to visit her as usual, till some differences arose between them, which terminated in a downright quarrel; after which they never saw each other more. He continued abroad till December 1747, when he returned; but no intercourse, which can be traced, passed between them afterwards.

This general account is all I am able to give your lordships of the intercourse between Mr. Hervey and his wife. The cause of the displeasure, which separated



rated them, is immaterial to be enlarged upon. The fruit of their intercourse was a son, born at Chelsea, some time in the year 1747. The circumstances of that birth, the notice which people took of it, and the conversations which she held about that, and the death of the child, furnish part of the evidence, that a matrimonial connection actually subsisted between them.

After having mentioned so often the secrecy, with which the marriage and cohabitation were conducted, it seems needless to observe to your lordships, that the birth of a child was suppressed with equal care. That also made but an awkward part of the family and establishment of a maid of honour.

My lords, that which I call the second period, was in the year 1759. She had then lived at a distance from her husband near twelve years. But the infirm state of the late lord Bristol's health seemed to open the prospect of a rich succession, and an earldom. It was thought worth while, as nothing better had then offered, to be countess of Bristol; and for that purpose to adjust the proofs of her marriage.

Mr. Amis, the minister who had married them, was at Winchester, in a declining state of health. She appointed her cousin Mr. Merrill, to meet her there on the 12th of February 1759; and by six in the morning she arrived at the Blue Boar inn, opposite Mr. Amis's house. She sent for his wife, and communicated her business, which was to get a certificate from Mr. Amis of her marriage with Mr. Hervey. Mrs. Amis invited her to their house, and acquainted her husband with the occasion of her coming. He was ill a-bed, and desired her to come up. But nothing was done in the business of the certificate, till the arrival of Mr. Merrill, who brought a sheet of stamped paper to write it upon. They were still at a loss about the form, and sent for one Spearing, an attorney. Spearing thought, that the merely making a certificate, and delivering it out in the manner which had been proposed, was not the best way of establishing



ing the evidence that might be wanted. He therefore proposed, that a check book (as he called it) should be bought ; and the marriage be registered in the usual form, and in the presence of the prisoner. Somebody suggesting that it had been thought improper she should be present at the making of the register, he desired she might be called ; the purpose being perfectly fair, merely to state that in the form of a register, which many people knew to be true ; and which those persons of honour, then present, give no room to doubt. Accordingly his advice was taken, the book was bought, and the marriage was registered. The book was intitled, marriages, births, and burials in the parish of Lainston. The first entry ran, the twenty-second of August one thousand seven hundred and forty-two, buried, Mrs. Susannah Merrill, relict of John Merrill, Esq. The next was the fourth of August one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, married, the honourable Augustus Hervey, Esq ; to Miss Elizabeth Chudleigh, daughter of colonel Thomas Chudleigh, late of Chelsea College deceased, in the parish church of Lainston, by me Thomas Amis. The prisoner was in great spirits. She thanked Mr. Amis ; and told him, it might be a hundred thousand pounds in her way. She told Mrs. Amis all her secrets ; of the child she had by Mr. Hervey ; a fine boy, but it was dead ; and how she borrowed a hundred pounds of her aunt Hanmer to make baby cloaths. It served the purpose of the hour to disclose these things. She sealed up the register, and left it with Mrs. Amis, in charge, upon her husband's death, to deliver it to Mr. Merrill. This happened in a few weeks after.

Mr. Kinchin, the present rector, succeeded to the living of Lainston ; but the book remained in the possession of Mr. Merrill.

In the year 1764 Mrs. Hanmer died, and was buried at Lainston. A few days after, Mr. Merrill desired her burial might be registered. Mr. Kinchin did not know of any register which belonged to the



parish; but Mr. Merrill produced the book, which Mr. Amis had made; and taking it out of the sealed cover, in which it had remained till that time, shewed Kinchin the entry of the marriage, and bade him not mention it. Kinchin subjoined the third entry, buried December the tenth, one thousand seven hundred and sixty four, Mrs. Ann Hanmer, relict of the late colonel William Hanmer; and delivered the book again to Mr. Merrill.

In the year 1767 Mr. Merrill died; Mr. Bathurst, who married his daughter, found this book among his papers; and taking it to be, what it purported, a parish register, delivered it to Mr. Kinchin accordingly. He has kept it as such ever since; and upon that occasion made the fourth entry, buried, the 7th of February one thousand seven hundred and sixty seven, John Merrill, Esq;

The earl of Bristol recovered his health; and this register was forgotten, till a very different occasion arose for enquiry after it.

The third period, to which I begged the attention of your lordships in the outset, was in the year 1768. Nine years had passed, since her former hopes of a great title and fortune had fallen to the ground. She had at length formed a plan to attain the same object another way. Mr. Hervey also had turned his thoughts to a more agreeable connection; and actually entered into a correspondence with the prisoner, for the purpose of setting aside a marriage so burdensome and hateful to both. The scheme he proposed was rather indelicate; not that afterwards executed, which could not sustain the eye of justice a moment; but a simpler method, founded in the truth of the case, that of obtaining a separation by sentence, *a mensa et thoro propter adulterium*, which might serve as the foundation of an act of parliament for an absolute divorce. He sent her a message to this effect, in terms sufficiently peremptory and rough, as your lordships will hear from the witness. Mrs. Cradock, the woman I have mentioned before, as being Mrs. Hanmer's servant



ſervant and preſent at the marriage, was then married to a ſervant of Mr. Hervey's, and lived in the priſoner's family with her huſband. He bade her tell her miſtreſs, that he wanted a divorce; that he ſhould call upon her (Craddock) to prove the marriage, and that the priſoner muſt ſupply ſuch other evidence as might be neceſſary.

This might have answered his purpoſe well enough; but her's required more reſerve and management; and ſuch a proceeding might have diſappointed it. She therefore ſpurned at that part of the propoſal; and reſuſed, in terms of high reſentment, to prove herſelf a whore. On the 18th of Auguſt following ſhe entered a caveat at Doctors Commons, to hinder any proceſs paſſing under ſeal of the court, at the ſuit of Mr. Hervey, againſt her, in any matrimonial cauſe, without notice to her proctor.

What difficulties impeded the direct and obvious plan, or what inducements prevailed in favour of ſo different a meaſure, I cannot ſtate to your lordſhips. But it has been already ſeen in a debate of many days, what kind of plan they ſubſtituted in place of the former.

In the Michaelmas ſeſſion of the year 1768, ſhe inſtituted a ſuit of jaſtitation of marriage in the common form. The answer was a croſs libel, claiming the rights of marriage. But the claim was ſo ſhaped, and the evidence ſo applied, that ſucceſs became utterly impracticable.

A groſſer artifice, I believe, was never fabricated. His libel ſtated the marriage, with many of its particulars; but not too many. It was large in alledging all the indifferent circumſtances which attended the courtſhip, contract, marriage ceremony, conſummation, and cohabitation; but when it came to the facts themſelves, it ſtated a ſecret courtſhip, and a contract with the privy of Mrs. Hanmer alone, who was then dead. The marriage ceremony, which, in truth, was celebrated in the church at Lainſton, was ſaid to have been performed at Mr. Merrill's houſe, in the pariſh  
of



of Sparshot, by Mr. Amis, in the presence of Mrs. Hanmer and Mr. Mountenay, who were all three dead. Mrs. Cradock, whom but three months before she held out as a witness of the marriage, was dropped; and, to shut her out more perfectly, the consummation is said to have passed without the privacy or knowledge of any part of the family and servants of Mr. Merrill; meaning perhaps that Cradock was servant to Mrs. Hanmer. It was further insinuated, that the marriage was kept a secret, except from the persons before mentioned.

To these articles the form of proceeding obliged her to put in a personal answer upon oath. She denies the previous contract; she evades the proposal of marriage, by stating that it was made to Mrs. Hanmer without her privacy; not denying that it was afterwards communicated to her. The rest of the article, which contains a circumstantial allegation of her marriage, together with the time, place, witnesses, and and so forth, she buries in the formulary conclusion of every answer, by denying the rest of the said pretended position, or article to be true in any part thereof. Finally, she demurs to the article, which alledges consummation.

Denying the rest of the article to be true in any part of it reserves this salvo. The whole averment of marriage was but one part of the article; that averment (the language is so constructed) makes but one member of a sentence; and yet it combines false circumstances with true. They were, in Mr. Merrill's house, at Sparshot, joined together in holy matrimony. This part of the article, as her answer calls it, is not true. It is true they were married; but not true, that they were married at Sparshot, or at Mr. Merrill's house.

How was this gross and palpable evasion treated? It is the course of the ecclesiastical court to file exceptions to indistinct or insufficient answers. Otherwise, to be sure, they could not compel a defendant to put in any material answer. But it was not the purpose



of this suit to exact a sufficient answer; consequently no exceptions were filed; but the parties went to issue.

The plan of the evidence also was framed upon the same measured line. The articles had excluded every part of the family: even the woman, whom Mr. Hervey had sent to demand the divorce, was omitted. But her husband is produced, to swear, that in the year 1744 Mr. Hervey danced with Miss Chudleigh at Winchester races, and visited her at Lainston; and in 1746 he heard a rumour of their marriage. Mary Edwards and Ann Hillam, servants in Mr. Merrill's family, did not contradict the article they were examined to, which alleges, that none of his servants knew any thing of the matter. But they had heard the report. So had Messrs. Robinson, Hoffach, and Edwards. Such was the amount of Mr. Hervey's evidence; in which the witnesses make a great shew of zeal to disclose all they know, with a proper degree of caution to explain that they know nothing.

The form of examining witnesses was also observed on her part; and she proved, most irrefragably, that she passed as a single woman; went by her maiden name; was maid of honour to the Princess Dowager; bought and sold; borrowed money of Mr. Drummond; and kept cash with him, and other bankers, by the name of Elizabeth Chudleigh; nay, that Mr. Merrill, and Mrs. Hanmer, who had agreed to keep the marriage secret, conversed, and corresponded with her by that name.

For this purpose a great variety of witnesses were called; whom it would have been very rash to produce, without some forgone agreement, or perfect understanding, that they should not be cross examined. Many of them could not have kept their secret under that discussion; even in the imperfect and wretched manner, in which cross examination is managed upon paper, and in those courts. Therefore not a single interrogatory was filed; nor a single witness cross examined, though produced to articles exceedingly confidential,  
such



such as might naturally have excited the curiosity of the adverse party to have made further enquiries.

In the event of this cause, thus treated, thus pleaded, and thus proved, the parties has the singular fortune to catch a judgment against the marriage by meer surprize upon the justice of the court.

While I am obliged to complain of this gross surprize, and to state the very proceedings in the cause as pregnant evidence of their own collusion, I would not be understood to intend any reflection on the integrity, or ability, of the learned and respectable judges,

*For aſt, though wiſdom wake, ſuſpicion ſleeps  
At wiſdom's gate, and to ſimplicity  
Reſigns her charge ; while goodneſs thinks no ill,  
Where no ill ſeems. —————*

Nor ſhould any imputation of blame be extended to thoſe names, which your lordſhips find ſubſcribed to the pleadings. The forms of pleading are matters of courſe. And if they were laid before counſel, only to be ſigned, without calling their attention to the matter of them, the collusion would not appear. A counſel may eaſily be led to overlook, what nobody has any intereſt or wiſh he ſhould conſider.

Thus was the way paved to an adulterous marriage ; thus was the duke of Kingſton drawn in to believe, that Mr. Hervey's claim to the priſoner was a falſe and injurious pretenſion ; and he gave his unſuſpecting hand to a woman, who was then, and had for twenty five years, been the wife of another.

In the vain and idle converſations, which ſhe held, at leaſt with thoſe who knew her ſituation, ſhe could not refrain from boaiſting how ſhe had ſurprized the duke into that marriage. “Do not you think (ſays ſhe with a ſmile to Mrs. Amis) do not you think, that it was very kind in his grace to marry an old maid ?” Mrs. Amis was widow of the clergyman, who had married her to Mr. Hervey, who had aſſiſted her in pro-



curing a register of that marriage, and to whom she had told of the birth of the child. The duke's kindness, as she insultingly called it, was scarcely more strange, than her manner of representing it to one who knew her real situation so well.

My lords, this is the state of the evidence ; which must be given, were it only to satisfy the form of the trial ; but is in fact produced, to prove that, which all the world knows perfectly well, as a matter of public notoriety. The subject has been much talked of ; but never, I believe, with any manner of doubt, in any company at all conversant with the passages of that time in this town. The witnesses, however, will lay these facts before your lordships ; after which, I suppose, there can be no question what judgment must be pronounced upon them : for your lordships will hardly view this act of Parliament just in the light, in which the prisoner's counsel have thought fit to represent it, as a law made for beggars, and not for people of fashion. To be sure, the preamble does not expressly prove the legislature to have foreseen or expected, that these would be the crimes of higher life, or nobler condition. But the act is framed to punish the crime, wherever it might occur ; and the impartial temper of your justice, my lords, will not turn aside its course, in respect to a noble criminal.

Nor does the guilt of so heinous a fraud seem to be extenuated, by referring to the advice of those by whose aid it was conducted, or to the confident opinion they entertained of the success of their project. I know this project was not (nor did I ever mean to contend it was) all her own. Particularly in that fraudulent attempt upon public justice, it could not be so. But, my lords, that imparting a criminal purpose, to the necessary instruments for carrying it into execution, extenuates the guilt of the author, is a conceit perfectly new in morality, and more than I can yield to. It rather implies aggravation, and the additional offence of corrupting these instruments.

Not



Not that I mean by this observation to palliate the guilt of such corrupt instruments. I think it may be fit, and exceedingly wholesome, to convey to Docters Commons, that those among them, if any such there are, who, being acquainted with the whole extent of the prisoner's purpose, to furnish herself with the false appearance of a single woman in order to draw the duke into such a marriage, assisted her in executing any part of it, are far enough from being clear of the charge contained in this indictment. They are accessaries to her felony; and ought to answer for it accordingly. This is stating her case fairly. The crime was committed by her, and her accomplices. All had their share in the perpetration of the crime: each is stained with the whole of the guilt.

My lords, I proceed to examine the witnesses. The nature of the case shuts out all contradiction or impeachment of testimony. It will be necessary for your lordships to pronounce that opinion and judgment, which so plain a case will demand.

After this the witnesses were examined. The attorney general's speech gives such a distinct state of the evidence, that we shall only add to it any interesting particulars that came out in the examinations.

Ann Cradock had known the duchess thirty two years; had been maid to Mrs. Hammer the duchess's aunt; saw Mr. Hervey and Miss Chudleigh married, put to bed, and afterwards in bed; the last night Mr. Hervey was there, she went to call him at five o'clock in the morning, on entering she found them both fast asleep, and they were very sorry to take leave of each other; Mrs. Hervey and her aunt both told her that Mrs. Hervey had a child; Mrs. Hervey said it was a boy and like Mr. Hervey; it was born at Chelsea; the child died; about 1768 she delivered a message from Mr. Hervey to his wife, that he was resolved to be parted, and that she, the lady, had it in her power to assist him. The lady replied, "*was she to make herself a whore to oblige him.*" In the cross examination it came out, that the duchess had offered this e-



vidence *twenty guineas a year*, but she was only to have the choice of three counties to confine herself to ; this was about three or four years ago ; to this offer she replied, it made her unhappy to think she was to be banished, but she consented to go into Yorkshire ; Derbyshire and Northumberland were the two other counties ; she went as far as Thoresby in her way to Yorkshire, but was so uneasy she did not proceed, so the twenty guineas yearly were never paid. She had also received a letter since that time, informing her that a gentleman would get her a sinecure, she shewed it to a friend, and told him to shew it to Mr. Hervey ; this was done, and Mr. Hervey desired her to keep the letter.

She subsisted on two hundred pounds Mrs. Hanmer had left her, one hundred pounds was taken up ; the other with her husband's income supported her whilst he lived ; since his death she lived by disposing of her furniture.

*April 20th.* Cæsar Hawkins, Esq; surgeon, had known the lady at the bar above thirty years, and Mr. Hervey nearly as long. He suggested his doubts whether or no he ought to disclose any thing that had come before him in a confidential trust, in the way of his profession. He was ordered to answer. He had heard of the marriage from the parties themselves ; the child was born in a street near Chelsea college, about thirty years ago, it was a son, and died soon after. Before the suit in the ecclesiastical court, he met Mr. Hervey now earl of Bristol in the street, Mr. Hervey expressed a wish to see him on particular business. He named a time and accordingly waited on him. He found Mr. Hervey expecting him with two or three bundles of papers before him. Mr. Hervey said he was unhappy on account of his matrimonial connections with Miss Chudleigh ; that he wished to have his freedom ; that the criminality of her conduct, and the ample and abundant proofs he had of it, *pointing to the papers on the table*, made him not doubt of obtaining it ; that he wished not to mix malice or ill temper



in the progress of it, and wished that Mr. Hawkins would inform the lady, that her lawyers and she might in company with his lawyers, examine the depositions, and omit any parts that seemed indecent, which his lawyers thought might be done without weakening his cause. He should act as a gentleman and a man of honour, and hoped she would not occasion vexatious delays, as he did not intend to prosecute for any damages. This message Mr. Hawkins delivered to the lady. After this several messages passed between the parties; in one of them the lady said she did not acknowledge lord Bristol to be her legal husband, and desired him to prove it; that she should institute a suit for a jactitation of the marriage, by which he would either gain freedom to himself, by a sentence of the ecclesiastical court declaring them free, or he would the sooner be able to bring his own suit. The lady expressed her obligations for the polite parts of his lordship's message. Mr. Hawkins knew nothing of keeping back any witnesses in that suit. While the suit was going on, the lady at one time seemed very grave, and said to Mr. Hawkins she had had much concern and uneasiness from finding that a positive oath would be demanded of her, that she was *not* married; that she thought she should have dropped her suit entirely; she would not for the world have taken a direct positive oath of that sort; but the oath that had been presented to her was so mixed with things not true, that she could and had taken it with a very safe conscience. In this conversation Mr. Hawkins asked her, how then did she come to institute a suit at all? She replied, "*O as for that matter, the ceremony was such a scrambling shabby affair, and so imperfect, that I should be as unwilling to swear I was married, as that I was not married.*" He could not tell how the oath came to be put in a so much more palatable form than she expected it, for he had not presumed to ask that question of her.

Mrs. Fettiplace had heard the prisoner at the bar say she was married to Mr. Hervey.

Lord



Lord Barrington made many polite objections to answering on subjects that had been confidentially entrusted to him. He was ordered to answer. His lordship then said the duchess had entrusted him with a circumstance in her life relating to a matrimonial engagement with Mr. Hervey; but he was not lawyer or civilian enough to know whether it was a legal marriage or not.

Judith Phillips. I was the widow of the late Mr. Amis, who was parson of Lainston. I have known the prisoner at the bar thirty years: in February 1759, about six weeks before Mr. Amis died, she came to Winchester for a register of her marriage. Mr. Amis was then confined to his bed. I asked her to my house. the lady, Mr. Merrill, and Mr. Spearing, the attorney, consulted together. Mr. Spearing went and bought a book, and the register was made in it. The lady said it might be worth one hundred thousand pounds to her. She sealed up the register book, and directed me on Mr. Amis's death to give it to Mr. Merrill. Afterwards when she was duchess of Kingston she said to me, "*was it not very good of his grace to marry an old maid,*" I only looked in her face and smiled. [*The book produced.*] This is the book, and my late husband's hand writing.

On her cross examination, she could not tell that the expences of her living in town were to be paid by Mr. Evelyn Meadows the prosecutor. It appeared that Mr. Phillips her present husband had been steward to the duke of Kingston; and that the duke looking cool upon him, he had written to his grace in October 1771 to resign, which was readily agreed to. In November Mrs. Phillips wrote a submissive letter to the duchess, begging her intercession with the duke, that her husband might keep his place, but without effect.

The reverend Messrs Kinchin and Dennis deposed to the register book, and to Mr. Amis's hand writing.

Wit-



Witnesses were also called, who proved the lady's marriage with the duke of Kingston, March 8th, 1769.

*Monday, April 22d.* Her grace the dutchess of Kingston was called upon to make her defence. She read it at the bar from a written paper. The duchess said, if she were to plead for life or fortune, no words from her should beat the air ; but she pleaded for her fame and honour. She then entered into a definition and description of logic as represented in that high court ; of false witnesses who had sworn against her ; of Sir John Chudleigh her relation, who at the age of eighteen had fallen at the siege of Ostend with his colours in his bosom refusing quarter. The strongest parts of her defence were, that she had acted under the sanction of the laws ; that her marriage had been honoured by his majesty's approbation, approved by her royal mistress the princess dowager, and authorised by the ecclesiastical court. She earnestly begged their lordships protection, being at their bar a prisoner, for having confided in the ecclesiastical court. The sentence of that court had declared her free from all matrimonial contracts. She then mentioned how much she had suffered by Mr. Hervey's report of their marriage. She could not sell a small estate in Devonshire, those who wished to purchase doubting her right on account of Mr. Hervey claiming her as his wife. That she for a long time had been possessed of lands proper for building, worth twelve hundred a year, but she never had that ground covered, owing to his claiming her. For these and other reasons she enumerated, she had instituted the suit of jactitation, acting entirely by the advice of Dr. Collier, which she imagined was a full reply to the charge of felony, as a lady could not know more of the civil law than her learned civilians pointed out to her. After this she indulged herself in some severe reflections and insinuations against the family of Meadows. [Mr. Meadows had married the duke of Kingston's sister, and had a large family of children. They were the late duke's



duke's nearest relations, and should have been his heirs.] Talked of her being worn down with sorrow, and of her wretched state of health. That when her life was despaired of, she came from Italy to prove herself an honourable woman. Grant her but innocence of intention, and they might take from her all her earthly possessions; for she had sat on that seat where old blind Belisarius had asked alms of every passenger, after having conquered the Goths and Vandals. Her grace then endeavoured to invalidate the evidence against her; pleaded strongly the innocence of her intention; calling God to witness she thought her marriage with the duke of Kingston lawful at the time; and beseeched their lordships to pity an unfortunate woman, misled by erroneous notions of law. She concluded with praying that Dr. Collier might be examined; she had acted by his advice in marrying the duke of Kingston; he had gone to his grace the archbishop of Canterbury to get a licence; his grace had taken time to consider whether he should grant one; and after serious deliberation, full leave to marry was granted.

Dr. Collier was too ill to be moved into court, and his evidence could not be taken in his chamber, as that would have been departing from an open trial, which requires the examination of witnesses *viva voce* at the bar, with a cross examination to confront them in the eye of the world.

Her grace's counsel called four witnesses.

First Mr. Berkeley, an attorney for Mr. Hervey, had seen Ann Cradock when the suit in the ecclesiastical court was going on; and she then said in presence of Mr. Hervey, that she was very old and infirm, and the affair had happened so many years ago, that she did not remember any thing of it. Mr. Hervey was exceedingly surprised, and asked, how she could pretend to forget it. Mr. Hervey wanted a divorce, which was the reason of Mr. Berkeley's applying to Mrs. Cradock.

Next



Next Ann Pritchard was called to contradict Cradock's being present at the marriage of Miss Chudleigh and Mr. Hervey; but it came out that Cradock was present, but not near enough to hear the ceremony.

Next Dr. Warren thought it would be imprudent in him to advise Dr. Collier to come abroad.

Lastly, Mr. La Roche deposed, he had heard Dr. Collier tell the duke of Kingston, that he might lawfully marry Miss Chudleigh. But he could not say that Dr. Collier had information when he gave that advice, that there had been a previous marriage between Miss Chudleigh and Mr. Hervey.

The lord high steward asked the solicitor general Mr. Wedderburn (now lord Loughborough) if he chose to reply.

On this the solicitor general said, That in his opinion the evidence produced by the prisoner at the bar in her vindication, had not invalidated the evidence in support of the prosecution, but had rather confirmed the charge against her. Thinking so, there only remained the speech made by the prisoner, and he hoped their lordships would not deem it a failure in duty, his declining to trouble them any further upon the subject.

His grace the lord high steward, after the duchess had been ordered from the bar, put the question to lord Sundridge (duke of Argyle in Scotland) the junior baron. Is it your lordship's opinion that the prisoner is guilty of the felony with which she stands charged, or not guilty?

Lord Sundridge stood up uncovered, and putting his right hand upon his breast, replied, *GUILTY, upon my honour.* As did all the lords present except the duke of Newcastle, who said, *Guilty erroneously but not intentionally, upon my honour.*

The prisoner was called in and informed by the lord high steward, that all her Peers had found her guilty but one, who had declared her guilty but not intentionally, and desired to know if she had any thing to offer,



offer, why judgment should not be passed upon her. The duchess made no answer, but handed up a paper praying the benefit of clergy. This prayer occasioned a long argument between the counsel on both sides, and an adjournment to the house of peers, where the judges being applied to gave their opinion, that a peeress convicted of a clergyable felony, and praying the benefit of the statutes, was not only excused from capital punishment, but ought to be instantly discharged, without being *burned in the hand* or imprisoned.

When the lords returned to Westminster hall, the lord high steward informed the duchess she was granted the benefit of clergy, adding, that though little or no punishment could be inflicted on her, the feelings of her conscience would supply that defect; that no such claim could be allowed again; and that if she committed a similar offence, she would incur a capital punishment.

The prisoner was then dismissed, on paying her fees.

Proclamation was made of the intention to dissolve the commission, and commanding all present to depart in the peace of God and the King.

The lord high steward rose up uncovered, broke his white staff, and declared the commission dissolved.



TRIAL OF

Mrs. ELIZABETH MARTHA CHICHELY HARRIS,  
Wife of JOHN POTTER HARRIS, of BANGHURST,  
In the County of SOUTHAMPTON, Esq;

For ADULTERY with

The Reverend JOHN CRAVEN,  
Rector of *Woolverton*, in the County of *Southampton*.

*The Libel was given in to the Consistory Court of the Lord Bishop of London, at Doctors Commons, the 15th of May, 1776.*

MR. Harris first brought an action against the reverend Mr. Craven, who is a gentleman of a very considerable fortune, in the court of King's Bench for damages; it was heard before lord Mansfield the 13th of February 1776; when a verdict was given for Mr. Harris, with three thousand pounds damages.

The present suit was brought in the ecclesiastical court for a divorce and separation from bed, board, and mutual cohabitation.

It is only Parliament can give a divorce with leave to marry again.

Miss Elizabeth Plowden daughter of the late reverend James Plowden, at the age of twenty, was married to James Potter Harris, Esq; aged twenty-three, on the 14th of August 1770. The ceremony was performed in the parish church of Aldermaston in Berkshire by the reverend Mr. Whiting, with the consent of Mr. George Durnford, guardian to Miss Harris, and her brother James Chichely Plowden, of Aldermaston Esq; gave her away.

John Appleton aged twenty four years, deposed, that at Michaelmas 1770 he went to live as a servant to Mr. Harris, this was about six weeks after the marriage; that Mrs. Harris was delivered of a son about Christmas 1771; that the reverend Mr. Craven was rector



of Woolverton, the next parish to Banghurst, and used to visit Mr. and Mrs. Harris, but within the two last years his visits became more frequent. Mr. Craven left Woolverton in 1774 and went to reside at Barton Court in Berkshire, about fifteen miles from Banghurst. After this removal he came frequently to Mr. Harris's on the Saturday, and performed divine service at Woolverton on the Sunday, staying at Mr. Harris's till Sunday or Monday. Mr. Harris and his family always receiving him with great friendship. Within the two last years he observed a great fondness between Mr. Craven and Mrs. Harris, having seen Mr. Craven squeeze her hand tenderly, and once or twice put his hand into Mrs. Harris's bosom, and partly up her petticoats. In August 1774, Mr. and Mrs. Harris and other company went to see the silk mills at Overton, in Hampshire, Mrs. Harris went with Mr. Craven in his post chaise, Mr. Harris on horseback, and other ladies in another carriage. On the road this evidence observed the front blind of that side of the chaise where Mrs. Harris sat, was drawn up, and he also observed, that Mrs. Harris and Mr. Craven sat together quite close and leaned towards each other in a very unbecoming manner. Towards the end of 1774, Mr. Craven dined at Banghurst, and after dinner Mr. Harris having gone out to his workmen, Mrs. Harris ordered this evidence to take the sofa out of the little room, and place it in the middle parlour by the fire; some little time after he had done this, he went into the middle parlour to make up the fire, and saw Mr. Craven and Mrs. Harris sitting close together on the sofa, and Mr. Craven had his hands up Mrs. Harris's petticoats, and he saw both Mrs. Harris's legs, and one of them as high as the calf, on seeing him, Mr. Craven snatched away his hand from Mrs. Harris's legs; they both turned round, and looked out at the window, much confused; this evidence, after stirring the fire, went out, and left them together. Mr. Craven often sent letters to Mrs. Harris by his servants, and

Mrs.



Mrs. Harris gave the servants who brought them money. About the end of 1774, John Seymour, one of Mr. Craven's servants, came with a letter for Mrs. Harris, as neither Mr. nor Mrs. Harris were up, this evidence laid the letter on a table in the parlour, and he believed Mr. Harris first opened it. After breakfast, being with Mrs. Harris in the parlour alone, she asked him, very angrily, if he could not read? if he did not see who the letter was directed for? and why he did not give it to Sarah Simmons, her own maid, rather than lay it in the parlour for his master to see? he made answer, that he thought when letters came either for his master or mistress, it was the same thing which read them first. Mrs. Harris said, it was not, and charged him to give all her letters into her own hand, or to Sally.

Elizabeth Holden, aged fifty, had lived with the reverend Mr. Craven as a servant, a year and a half, and on leaving him went into Mr. Harris's service about the beginning of 1773. She deposed to Mr. Craven's frequent visits to Mr. Harris's on Saturdays, where he staid all night, and on Sunday performed his duty at Woolverton church, which is about two miles from Banghurst. One day when Mr. Craven came, he pretended to have a cold and sore throat, and Mrs. Harris desired her to warm his bed, while she was doing it, Mrs. Harris and Mr. Craven came into the room, and Mrs. Harris bathed Mr. Craven's neck with hartshorn, the collar of his shirt being open, and tied a black ribbon round his neck. This evidence went away and left them together. Soon after Mrs. Harris came into the kitchen and made some sack whey, and took it into Mr. Craven's bed room, and staid with him near half an hour, and she heard her husband call her to come out, and asked, what she had been doing so long in Mr. Craven's room. Mrs. Harris then came out and went to her husband. On Friday the 4th of November 1774, Mr. Craven came to Mr. Harris's and staid all night, and next morning, Saturday the 5th, at seven o'clock, Mr. Harris set out



for Reading in Berkshire, in his phaeton, attended by John Appleton. After he was set out, Sarah Simmons desired her from Mrs. Harris not to light a fire in Mr. Craven's room till she was ordered. At eight in the morning, being in Appleton's room making his bed, and the room door a little open, some person in the passage shut it gently, on which she instantly opened it again, and looked out, and then saw Mrs. Harris very neatly dressed, go into the room where Mr. Craven lay. On seeing her mistress go in, she went and listened some minutes at the door, during which time she heard the bed crack, but did not hear a word spoken. She then went into the room where Miss Durnford lay, being in the same passage, and told her she had seen Mrs. Harris go into Mr. Craven's room, that she had listened, and heard a shaking of the bed. On which Miss Durnford exclaimed, "*Lord bless me, had I seen her, she should not have gone in.*" This evidence in her conscience believed that Mrs. Harris and Mr. Craven had that morning, in Mr. Craven's bedchamber, the carnal use and knowledge of each other's body. About half an hour after the shaking of the bed, she saw Mrs. Craven in the store room, which was on the same floor, and her cloaths were much tumbled, and she looked confused, and her face was redder than usual. Mrs. Harris ordered her to light a fire in Mr. Craven's room, she went in, and Mr. Craven was a bed; she opened one of the windows, and Mr. Craven asked her if Mr. Harris had set out? what weather it was? and desired her to bring him his shaving things; but his servant coming, she sent them by him.

The same day about ten or eleven in the forenoon, Mrs. Harris told her own maid, Sarah Simmons, aged twenty five years, to fetch some wood for the parlour fire, and lay it at the door, but Elizabeth Holden having informed her of what she had seen that morning, this evidence, Simmons, instead of putting the wood at the door, carried it into the parlour, on purpose to see what was passing there; on

• going.



going in she saw Mr. Craven and Mrs. Harris standing in a stooping posture towards the fire, and Mr. Craven had one of his arms about her mistress's neck; they instantly started in confusion, and Mrs. Harris desired her to put down the wood, which she did, and left them together. This evidence was Mrs. Harris's own maid, and generally attended her mistress to undress her at night, and also attended in the morning to dress her. Mr. Craven generally got up before Mrs. Harris, and used to walk in the garden before the house; that her mistress was of a very lewd disposition, for at different times when Mr. Craven was walking in the front garden, she looked out of her bedchamber window, when dressing, with her breasts uncovered and exposed to Mr. Craven, having at the time only her shift, stays, and petticoats on, and laughed and talked with him, and told him, she would soon come down to him. Mrs. Harris also had carried whey and other things into his bedchamber at night, when he had gone to bed pretending a cold or sore throat; Mr. Harris saw her one of these times coming out of Mr. Craven's room, asked her what she had been doing there, and seemed much displeased with her. About the end of March 1775, Mr. Harris went to Coventry, and staid about three weeks. In his absence, on Saturday the 8th of April, Mrs. Harris said to the servants, she expected her husband home that night, that in the evening Mr. Craven came, but Mr. Harris did not for near a week. That evening Mrs. Harris ordered clean sheets to be put on her bed. Miss Catherine Durnford, a relation of Mrs. Harris's was then at the house on a visit, and had always slept with Mrs. Harris, during her husband's absence, but that night Mrs. Harris desired her to sleep with this evidence. Soon after supper, Mrs. Harris desired this evidence to warm Mr. Craven's bed, which was earlier than in general the family went to bed, and when it was warmed, Mr. Craven went into his bedchamber. Then Mrs. Harris went into the kitchen, and desired all the servants to go



instantly to bed, telling this evidence she should not want her to undress her that night. Mrs. Harris was in such haste that she would not permit the servants to put away the kitchen things as usual. The servants went to their rooms, and this evidence to hers, which was opposite to Mrs. Harris's bedchamber. On going to her room, Miss Durnford said to her, that the reason of her being to sleep with this evidence, was, she believed, because that night Mr. Craven was to lie with Mrs. Harris; on which this evidence said, she would watch them. Miss Durnford undressed and went to bed; but this evidence kept on one petticoat, and put on Miss Durnford's bed gown, then she put out the candle, opened her room door a little; and listened; she heard her mistress walking in her room, soon after, about twelve o'clock at night, Mr. Craven came out of his room, walked along the passage, and went into the blue room that led into the antichamber, which had a door into Mrs. Harris's room. She heard Mr. Craven go through these rooms into Mrs. Harris's room, she then listened at Mrs. Harris's door, and heard her and Mr. Craven whispering, and kissing each other; then she heard a moving of the bed cloaths and curtains, and the bed cracking; the noise and shaking of the bed lasted some minutes, and afterwards all was quiet. She could not see through the keyhole what was going on, for there was no light in Mrs. Harris's room. After listening at the keyhole half an hour, she went and told Miss Durnford what she had heard, and proposed to go into her mistress's bedchamber, that she might see Mr. Craven and her in bed together, but Miss Durnford advised her against it, saying she had heard enough, and desired her to come to bed, and to tell Mrs. Harris in the morning, what she had seen and heard. She would not go to bed, but went into Mr. Craven's room, his lamp was burning, he was not there, nor any of his cloaths; she came out again, and sat down in the passage by her mistress's door. About two o'clock on Sunday morning the 9th of April, hearing



ing Mr. Craven coming out of her mistress's room, she retired into her own room, and heard him go into his, and blow out his lamp, then he came out, and by a light from a window in the stair case, she saw him go into the blue room, and heard him go through that and the antichamber into her mistress's room again. She then went again to the keyhole and listened, and heard Mr. Craven and Mrs. Harris whispering and kissing each other, and Mr. Craven either get into or upon the bed, after which she heard the bed crack and make a noise, and the rustling and cracking lasted two or three minutes, when all was quiet. She remained in the passage till four o'clock, when Mr. Craven not coming out, and she being wearied and sleepy, went to bed. From all these circumstances, she believes Mr. Craven and Mrs. Harris had that night, carnal use and knowledge of each other's bodies, and committed the crime of adultery together.

The same morning at eight o'clock, she went into Mrs. Harris's bedchamber to dress her, and then informed her what she had overheard and seen of her connection with Mr. Craven the preceding night. Her mistress at first denied the whole, but at last owned Mr. Craven had been in her room a little time. This evidence said he had been there till past four o'clock in the morning. Her mistress then asked her if she could swear, and when she said she could, Mrs. Harris was much agitated and confused, and made no answer. While breakfast was going on in the parlour, she and Elizabeth Holden went into their mistress's room to make her bed; it was much tumbled, and there were several marks or spots upon the sheets, which they believed were caused by Mr. Craven and Mrs. Harris lying together the preceding night, and and by their having had carnal use and knowledge of each other's bodies.

To these marks or spots Elizabeth Holden also deposed, and said they appeared to be occasioned by a man and woman having lain together, and by  
 their



their having had the carnal use and knowledge of each other.

Sally Simmons waited on Mrs. Harris, Mr. Craven, and Miss Durnford, at dinner that day the 9th; her mistress was then composed, but both she and Mr. Craven were more grave than usual. In the evening as Mr. Craven was going away, he called Simmons to help him on with his great coat, gave her a guinea, and said something she did not understand. He had never given her any thing before. On the next day, Monday the 10th, Mrs. Harris called her into her dressing room, and gave her a gown and petticoat and some other things, desiring her not to tell tales, as servants never got any thing by it.

On Wednesday the 28th of June 1775, Mr. and Mrs. Harris, Miss Plowden, Mrs. Harris's sister, and Mr. Durnford, a relation, went to Basingstoke races. The ladies went in the chariot, and the gentlemen on horseback; they met Mr. Craven at the races. The two ladies and Mr. Durnford returned first; soon after came Mr. Craven to stay all night; and lastly came Mr. Harris, somewhat intoxicated. This was about nine in the evening. Soon after supper, Mrs. Harris persuaded her husband to go to bed. Mr. Craven was to sleep in the blue room this night. Appleton suspecting, on account of Mr. Harris's intoxication, that his mistress and Mr. Craven intended to lie with each other that night, as soon as the family were gone to bed, which was about twelve o'clock, he went and listened at Mr. Craven's door, having first pulled off his shoes; when there he heard Mrs. Harris and Mr. Craven whispering, and after that heard a rustling of cloaths, and the bed crack. He then went to Sally Simmons's door, and told her that their mistress and Mr. Craven were together and desired her to come and listen; she came, and they both listened till they heard the handle of the lock move, on which they ran away to their own rooms; but Appleton leaving his door a little open, saw his mistress come out of Mr. Craven's room, and go into Miss Plowden's



den's, her sister's room, where she continued a short time, and then returned again into Mr. Craven's bed-chamber, and shut the door after her. He then went to his bed. From what Appleton heard he believed that that night Mrs. Harris and Mr. Craven had carnal use and knowledge of each other's bodies and committed the crime of adultery together.

Miss Ann Plowden, aged nineteen, sister of Mrs. Harris, deposed, that on the night of the 28th of June 1775 after having been at the races and supped, about eleven they retired to their different apartments, Mr. Harris having gone to bed about an hour before somewhat intoxicated. About half an hour after she had been in her room, and when she had undressed and was just going into bed, Mrs. Harris her sister, made a noise at her door, and said, "*do not be frightened, it is only me.*" Mrs. Harris then came into her room, which was opposite to Mr. Craven's. Mrs. Harris said she thought Appleton and Simmons were not gone to bed, and desired her to look into the passage, if she could hear or see them; she looked out of her chamber and saw Mr. Craven peep out of his room, on which she shut her door, and told her sister Mr. Craven was there. Mrs. Harris answered, "*What does that signify.*" To which she replied, "*it may not signify, but he shall not come into my room.*" Mrs. Harris then left the room, she looked after her, and observed her go into Mr. Craven's bedchamber. She waited sometime expecting her sister would return, but on her not coming in half an hour, she went to bed. Next day the 29th of June, about seven o'clock, her sister came again into her room, before she had got up, and she asked her if she had been up all night? It being much earlier than her usual time of rising. Mrs. Harris said she had not slept all night, and desired her not to mention Mr. Craven's looking out of his room the night before. This evidence replied "*very well.*" Mrs. Harris then went away, and she got up and went down to her in the parlour, where Mr. Durnford joined them, and after him Mr. Craven came.



came, and on his coming in he kissed Mrs. Harris before her and Mr. Durnford. From the aforesaid circumstances, she believed in her conscience that the reverend John Craven and Mrs. Harris had had the carnal use and knowledge of each other's bodies, and had committed the crime of adultery together in Mr. Craven's bedchamber.

Sentence of divorce and separation from bed, board, and mutual cohabitation, was passed in the usual form.

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T R I A L   O F  
T H E   R I G H T   H O N O U R A B L E  
**Lady FRANCES CARPENTER,**  
C O U N T E S S   o f   T Y R C O N N E L .

F O R   C O M M I T T I N G   A D U L T E R Y   w i t h  
**CHARLES LORRAINE SMITH, Esq;**

*The Libel was delivered in to the Consistory Court at Doctor's Commons, the 26th of November, 1776.*

**L**ADY Frances Manners, daughter of the late marquis of Granby, was born the 24th of March 1753, and married the 9th of July 1772 to the right honourable George Carpenter, earl of Tyrconnel. His lordship was born June 30th 1750; and at the time of his marriage was twenty-two years of age, and the lady nineteen.

The libel states an instance of affection and forgiveness in his lordship, which the lady does not appear to have merited. After the countess had eloped from his lordship's house, his lordship having discovered the place of her retreat in Rathbone Place, went to her lodgings, and notwithstanding her past ill conduct would have forgiven her, and endeavoured to pre-



prevail on her to return home, promising to overlook all that had passed, but her ladyship absolutely refused to return home with him. However, if this denial proceeded from her knowledge of her being at that time with child by Mr. Smith, her ladyship's refusal of her kind husband's offer, is much more to be commended than blamed.

From the evidence given on this trial it appeared, that lady Tyreconnel became acquainted with Mr. Lorraine Smith, only about a twelvemonth before she eloped; that Mr. Smith very often visited her ladyship at his lordship's house in Hanover square, and also visited her at Randalls in Surry, his lordship's country seat, but these visits were always in lord Tyreconnel's absence.

When lady Tyreconnel was in town, Mr. Smith used to ride past in sight of lord Tyreconnel's house, on which her ladyship regularly ordered her horse, or her carriage. When her ladyship went out, Mr. Smith generally met her, and they rode together sometimes in Hyde park, sometimes in the King's road, and for the most part they separated before they came near his lordship's house, though Mr. Smith has at times accompanied her ladyship as far as the stables, which are behind the house. Lady Tyreconnel was almost constantly every evening at public places, particularly Vauxhall and Ranelagh, and Merret, her own footman deposed, that Mr. Smith generally came out with her from these public places, and that she carried him to his lodgings in her coach; she always set down the rest of the company first, so that Mr. Smith was the last person in the coach with her, in managing this business, her ladyship often went greatly out of her way from Mr. Smith's lodgings, being in the coach sometimes from eleven at night till one or two in the morning, and after all the rest of the company were set down, Mr. Smith might be about a quarter of an hour alone with her ladyship in the coach. Her ladyship eloped the 13th of July 1776 when lord Tyreconnel was at Randalls his country



try seat in Surry. Several other witnesses deposed to the above facts. Samuel Dickweed his lordship's porter deposed, that Mr. Smith generally enquired first for Mrs. Talbot, an acquaintance of her ladyship's; that on the 1st of July they went out in lord Tyrconnel's coach to go to lord Tilney's, and on the 9th of July he was alone with lady Tyrconnel a considerable time, till past two o'clock mid-day. Elizabeth White another evidence, fixes the time at two hours and an half. Also that lord and lady Tyrconnel parted beds about the middle of March, the reason she did not know, and that lady Tyrconnel never lay in the same bed with his lordship while she remained in the house, which was till July the 13th when she eloped. This evidence went as house maid to lord Tyrconnel's in December 1774, and from that time till the 27th of May 1776 lady Tyrconnel was out of order monthly, as women are by nature, after which time, till she eloped, this evidence was certain she was not out of order, as she had before regularly been. This witness from making the beds and seeing the shifts lady Tyrconnel wore, was enabled to give the above evidence.

It may be remarked, that her ladyship then parted beds the middle of March, and that at the bringing of this suit November 26th, she was about six months gone with child, which fixes the time of conception about the end of May, as this evidence deposed, that from the 27th of May her ladyship had ceased to be out of order. It is therefore probable that her ladyship when she eloped July the 13th, suspected her being with child, and this suspicion was most likely the cause of her not accepting of the earl's most generous offer to take her back again, and forgive what had past.

On Sunday the 30th of June 1776, her ladyship was to set out for Randalls in company with Mrs. Talbot; but a party being made, they agreed to dine by the way at the Star and Garter, in Richmond; and this evidence Elizabeth White, having heard much talk  
about



about Mr. Loraine Smith, enquired which was he, when the company was coming to lady Tyrconnel's that morning, in this manner she first knew him by sight; he came an hour and more before Sir Thomas Clarges and Mrs. Talbot.

Wood the coachman, deposed, that he drove them to the Star and Garter on Richmond hill, where they dined, and then he drove them to Mr. Hobarts on Ham common. After that they went to Richmond gardens, where they remained till near ten at night; then they came back to Ham common; from whence they set out for Randalls; but Sir Thomas Clarges and Mr. Smith got out of the coach in Ewell street, where they went into Sir Thomas's phaeton, and then lady Tyrconnel and Mrs. Talbot went off for Randalls. That on July the 13th when lord Tyrconnel was at Randalls, where lady Tyrconnel had agreed to go on that or the next day, but on that day she eloped. Dickweed the porter, deposed, that on Saturday the 13th when all the servants were out, lady Tyrconnel sent him for a chairman to carry a note to Miss Manners. He went; but her ladyship had eloped from the house before he returned. Some days after, hearing she lodged in Glanville street, Rathbone place, he went on the 19th, and in that street, in the front room of a house, he saw her at the window several times, and Mr. Smith with her. He watched them there from eight to eleven at night. When she left these lodgings, he by her direction procured a cart to carry her things from Glanville street to her lodgings at Stamford Brook near Turnham Green.

Mrs. Ann Hooper of Glanville street, Rathbone place, deposed, that about ten o'clock on a Saturday night, a gentleman in a hackney coach, enquired at her house for lodgings; she shewed him her first floor, being a dining room and bedchamber; but on his saying it was for a lady, she refused to let it lest her character should be hurt by it. The gentleman then assured her, the lady would not see any company, would give very little trouble, and was just come out



of the country. She asked to see the lady. The gentleman went to the coach, and came back with the lady, who agreed to take the lodgings at a guinea and a half a week, and to come that night. The lady and gentleman went away, and in about an hour the lady returned. She kept the lodgings a fortnight, the gentleman visited her every day and sometimes oftener, they were always alone together. While the lady lodged in her house, a fortune teller told her servant that the lady was the countess of Tyrconnel, as did also Dr. Watson who lodged in her second floor. She also heard the gentleman was captain Smith; and after the lady had left her lodgings captain Smith called and said if any letters came for lady Tyrconnel to send them to lord Tyrconnel's Hanover square. Mary Mears servant to the last witness, deposed, to the gentleman and the lady taking the lodgings on a Saturday night at ten o'clock. That the gentleman came sometimes to breakfast, and sometimes to dinner, and always drank tea and supped with the lady, and continued with her till twelve o'clock and sometimes longer; they were always alone together; she had heard the lady singing to him, and laughing; and heard her say to him he took great liberties with her, and that he had more assurance than any man she was acquainted with. One evening when this evidence went rather hastily into the dining room, she saw them together on the sofa, and the gentleman was kissing her; they started up when she came in, so quickly and in such confusion, that she could not depose whether they were lying on the sofa or sitting on it. Some days before the lady left the lodgings, she sent her to Pitt street for an old woman whom the lady said used to tell her her fortune. The old woman came that day and the following day. After which she came into the kitchen and told this evidence, that the lady was daughter to the marquis of Granby and wife to the earl of Tyrconnel, and that the gentleman who visited her was captain Smith. One night before the lady left the lodgings, just as the gentleman had  
gone



gone away, she went up stairs to turn down the bed, but found the dining room door fastened, and after waiting some minutes the lady opened the door, and was then quite undressed, being in her night shift and night cap, which this evidence had never observed before, though she had always gone up stairs when the gentleman went away.

James Walley a coachman, deposed, that in summer 1776 he was desired by Mr. Clarke who lets coaches, to drive to a house in or near Rathbone place to wait on some company. He drove there about eight o'clock in the evening and took up a gentleman and a lady and carried them to furnished lodgings at Stanford Brook near Turnham Green; they continued there two nights, when the gentleman went away, but he continued to drive the lady for near four weeks. The lady passed by the name of Mrs. Porter, but he was afterwards told she was the countess of Tyrconnel.

About the 25th of July 1776, captain Smith applied to Mr. Lambert, upholsterer in Warwick street Golden square, to assist him in procuring a ready furnished house. Mr. Lambert went with him to Stanford Brook to look at a house belonging to Mr. Pollard an auctioneer, which house Mr. Lambert at captain Smith's desire took for one month. Captain Smith told him it was for *a lady of fashion*.

Ann Pearce servant to Mr. Pollard, deposed, that Mr. Lambert and a gentleman whose name she had since been informed was captain Smith, came to Mr. Pollard's house, when he and his wife were in London, and after looking at the house and garden, enquired if a family could have possession that night, and if she the servant would quit it? She informed them the family might come, but she could not quit the house without telling Mr. Pollard. Mr. Lambert then informed captain Smith that she was a good cook, and on this Mr. Smith said she might remain. About twelve that night, Mr. Smith came in a coach with a young lady, whom from the neighbours and



the lady's own maid, she afterwards knew to be the countess of Tyrconnel. Immediately on their coming Mr. Smith enquired if the beds were ready, she replied only her master's bed. He then ordered the other bed to be sheeted which she did. The lady then went to her master's bedchamber, Mr. Smith went into the other room, and she retired. After this she heard Mr. Smith and the lady conversing together, but did not understand them; she believed they spoke in French. Mr. Smith lay all that night in the house; and next morning seeing Mr. Smith's room door open, she went in, and saw the bed and pillows just as she had left them the night before; the bed had not been lain in; but when she went to make the lady's bed, it was much tumbled, and she saw the marks of two persons in it. About two o'clock Mr. Smith went out and came back to dinner about six in the evening, and remained all night. In the morning after she again found his bed had not been lain in, but the lady's bed was much tumbled, and she again saw the marks of two persons having lain in it. Therefore, she believed that Mr. Smith and lady Tyrconnel had lain together in the same bed on these two nights, and believed also that when they were so in the same bed, they did as they pleased, and committed adultery together. Mr. Smith never came any more to the house; the lady Tyrconnel remained about five weeks. The lady had two servants with her, and after she had gone away, this evidence saw her ladyship and Mr. Smith often walking together in the neighbourhood. The last time she saw lady Tyrconnel, was about the middle of the present month, November, and then her ladyship seemed big with child.

Sentence of divorce and separation from bed, board, and mutual cohabitation passed in the usual form.



TRIAL OF

LADY B L A K E,

Wife of Sir PATRICK BLAKE, Baronet,

For ADULTERY with,

G E O R G E B O S C A W E N, Esq;.

*The Libel was delivered in to the Conffessory Court: Doctor's Commons,  
November 26th, 1777.*

**M**ISS Annabella Bunbury, daughter of the late reverend Sir William Bunbury, of Barton in the county of Suffolk, baronet; was, on the 14th of April 1762, at the age of seventeen, married to Patrick Blake Esq; a minor, aged twenty years. At the time of this trial there were five children living, the issue of this marriage, and the parties had been married sixteen years all but a few months.. When her ladyship eloped with Mr. Boscawen, she was between thirty one and thirty two years of age. Mr. Boscawen is member for Truro in Cornwall.

The following facts and circumstances were sworn to by the different evidences.

Sir Patrick Blake and his lady appeared, during the whole course of their lives, from the time they were married, till her ladyship made her elopement, to have lived very happily together; they had in all six children, three sons and three daughter. In October 1772 Sir Patrick's estates in the West Indies requiring his presence, he left England, lady Blake accompanying him. Before they embarked, Mr. Boscawen passed a fortnight with them at their country seat at Langham in Suffolk. This is the first of Mr. Boscawen's appearance.. The children were left behind for their education.. They arrived at St. Kitts about the middle of December 1772, and they remained there, excepting visits to the other islands, till the middle of April 1775. At that time, in order to superintend the education of her children, and to reco-



ver her own health, lady Blake embarked for England in the ship *Mary*, captain Beattie; George French, Esq; was also a passenger. When they had been ten days at sea the vessel sprung a leak, and put back to St. Kitts; however, being refuted, they sailed again the first day of May, and about the 22d of July arrived at Portsmouth. During the passage lady Blake frequently expressed her uneasiness that Sir Patrick's business, in the management of his estates, had kept him from accompanying her. Mr. French knew that Sir Patrick and lady Blake, when he embarked for England, took leave of each other in the most affectionate manner; that lady Blake had a power of attorney from her husband, to manage his affairs in England jointly with his other attornies; and that she had a fixed annual allowance.

Sir Charles Bunbury lady Blake's brother expecting her home, sent Robert Mark to Portsmouth to wait her arrival. Her ladyship on her arrival took Mark into her service, and he attended her to Sir Patrick's town house in Queen Ann street, Cavendish square, and from thence in about a fortnight or three weeks, to Sir Patrick's country seat at Langham near Bury in Suffolk. Here she remained till Sunday the 12th of May 1776. On that day at five in the morning, she set out in her post chaise as if she was going to London, having previously desired Hannah Jewers the nursery maid to take care of the children, adding she should not be long gone. She was attended by Mark and two other men servants; but the postilion and game keeper went no farther than Stowmarket, she not taking her own horses beyond that stage. Mark went on with her ladyship, and after passing through Colechester and Chelmsford, about three o'clock the same day she arrived at the Green Man at Ilford in Essex. Here she dined. When she had been an hour at the inn, a post chaise arrived with a gentleman attended by a foreign servant. This was Mr. Boscawen, and his servant Vincienzo Moro, a Venetian hair dresser about twenty two years of age, whom

Mr.



Mr. Boscawen had hired at Turin in October 1775, and who had attended him to England in December the same year. Mr. Boscawen and his servant had come from his lodging No. 166 in Oxford street. A few minutes after his arrival he sent for Marks, and called him by his name, which surprised him, as he did not then know Mr. Boscawen. He desired Marks to present his compliments to lady Blake, and tell her that his name was Richard Thompson, and that he was on his way to inform her, that a lady a friend of hers was sick and wished to see her. On delivering this message lady Blake said she did not know him, but desired him to walk in. About half an hour after Mr. Boscawen went into lady Blake coffee was ordered. Marks was then ordered in, and desired by lady Blake to move all her luggage out of her own chaise into the gentleman's. This was instantly done, Vincienzo Moro assisting Marks. Lady Blake's chaise and an empty trunk were left with Mr. Gibbard the inn keeper, to whom Sir Charles Bunbury wrote about a week after, to keep it till it was sent for; and in about another week, Arthur Murphy, Esq; of Lincoln's inn, came and gave him a receipt for it and the empty trunk.

When the things were shifted, lady Blake and Mr. Boscawen set out from Ilford in a post chaise and four, attended by Marks then about twenty years of age, and Vincienzo Moro of whom an account has already been given. They drove first to Shooter's hill, then to Dartford where they changed horses at the Granby inn. Here Marks and Moro took a chaise and two horses and followed them to Dover. Lady Blake and Mr. Boscawen travelled all night, and on Monday the 13th, about five in the morning, they arrived at the ship inn in Dover.

From her own house at Langham to Dover, lady Blake was just twenty four hours in going. Mr. Boscawen and she now went by the names of Mr. and Mrs. Thompson. At Dover they met a French servant of Mr. Boscawen's named Schallons, who had been dispatched



patched before them to order fresh horses at the different stages, and to hire a vessel to carry them to Calais. After breakfasting they embarked, were four hours on their passage, and landed at Calais about one o'clock. They put up at the Lion d'Argent, or Silver Lion; Mr. Boscawen and lady Blake supped together, and remained there all night; they lay in different rooms, but the doors were opposite to each other. They passed for husband and wife. The following day they went for Paris, lying that night at St. Omers; in two or three days they reached Paris, where they remained three days, lodging in the hotel de Montpensier near the Luxemburg. From Paris they set out for Orleans, where they staid two days, then to Virgcan where they remained one night, and from thence to Bourges, in the province of Berry, sixty leagues from Paris. They put up at the Crowned Bull for three weeks. At this inn Mr. Boscawen and lady Blake lay in a room with two beds; they passed for, and cohabited together as man and wife, and were now stiled Mr. and Mrs. Boscawen.

A few days after their arrival at Bourges, Schallons left their service and went to see his relations. At Bourges, the Italian dressed Mr. Boscawen's hair in his bedchamber, and commonly put on his night cap; and saw him go in in the evening and come out in the morning in his night cap, when lady Blake was in the said bed room. He therefore believed in his conscience, that they lay together in the same bed, and had commerce with each other as man and wife.

From Bourges they went to a country house at Chateau de Maubranche, about seven miles distant. Here they had a cook, and a French waiting maid for lady Blake, and staid till May 1777, in the whole about eleven months. The Italian also belived they lay together here in the same bed, as they had only one bedchamber and one bed for them both. In this bedchamber he always dressed lady Blake's hair in a morning. One morning he carried in breakfast when Mr. Boscawen was ill and a bed, and both he and

Marks.



Marks saw Mr. Boscawen in bed, and lady Blake make tea for him when he was in bed. About the beginning of May Mr. Boscawen was very near turning off the Italian in a passion for having said to an acquaintance that he and lady Blake were not man and wife. Lady Blake was present when he was taxed with it. Moro honestly confessed, that he had told an acquaintance, that since the lady had been with his master, his master's temper had greatly altered, and that he was not so good to him as he had been before; but denied ever having said they were not man and wife; on the contrary, when he had been asked that question, he had always declared they were. Mark also deposed to their having only one bedchamber and one bed; that he had seen Mr. Boscawen kiss lady Blake in the parlour, that Mr. Boscawen kissed her another time when they were on horseback; and that they lay naked and alone together, and committed adultery together.

In May 1777 they returned to Paris, and from thence to St. Omers, remaining two or three days at each place. Before they arrived at Calais, Mr. Boscawen gave the servants orders to call them Mr. and Mrs. Wilson. They lay one night at the Lion d'Argent or Silver Lion at Calais; then passed over to Dover, and remained there one night; then to Bright-helmstone, and through many other towns to Exeter, where they lay one night, and then proceeded to Tinguemouth, fourteen miles from Exeter. There after lodging a week at the Globe inn, they went to Mr. Randall's, a Cooper; when they had been a month at this house, Moro the Italian left them and went to Exeter, where he hired himself to Mr. Pearce a hair dresser, and afterwards to Mr. Humphrey, limner, in whose service he was when summoned to give evidence on this trial. On the journey from Paris to Bourges Mark had told Moro, that his lady was a married woman, the wife of Sir Patrick Blake, then in the West Indies, and that she had five children. At this time Hannah Jewers, who had been nursery maid



maid at Langham, and who had been in Sir Patrick's family fifteen years, came to live with lady Blake. Jewers had left Sir Patrick's about a month before, the youngest of the children being then put to school.

At Tingmouth Mr. Boscawen and lady Blake had only one bedchamber, and one bed in it; and Mark saw him go into it at night and come out in the morning; and believed they lay together naked and alone, and committed adultery together. After seven weeks stay at Tingmouth, they went to Sheldon, near which they took a house, and here Mark after staying with them four or five weeks, left them, and hired himself to Mr. Playdale of Clifton.

At Sheldon, Hannah Jewers attended lady Blake about three months, where Mr. Boscawen and her ladyship lived together as man and wife; from thence they went to Washfield, near Tiverton, in Devonshire, but Jewers did not go with them, for lady Blake told her she intended to go abroad, and on that account did not want her any longer. Jewers deposed, that at Tingmouth and Sheldon they had only one bed, in which they lay naked and alone, and committed adultery together.

Sir Patrick Blake arrived from the West Indies in September 1776, about four months after his wife had eloped.

Sentence of divorce and separation from bed, board, and mutual cohabitation, passed in the usual form.



TRIAL OF

Mrs. ELIZABETH EUSTATIA CAMPBELL,

Wife of JOHN HOOKE CAMPBELL, Esq;

Lord Lyon King at Arms for the Kingdom of Scotland.

For ADULTERY with

WILLIAM WADE, Esquire.

Master of the Ceremonies at Bath.

*The Libel was delivered in to the Consistory Court of the Bishop of London at Doctors Commons, on the 11th of December, 1777.*

*A curious speech of Mrs. Campbell's is mentioned in it. One morning, between one and two o'clock, after Mr. Wade had gone away from Mrs. Campbell's, where he had supped, Mrs. Campbell said to her maid Bagshaw, who was undressing her, that MR. WADE HAD BEEN WISHING TO ENJOY HER, AND THAT HE SHOULD NOT WISH IT LONG.*

MISS Elizabeth Eustatia Bassett, of Atherington, Devonshire, at the age of twenty one, was married to Mr. Campbell, of Bangeston in Pembrokehire, also aged twenty one, in the parish church of Atherington, on the 31st of August 1762, by the reverend Mr. Marshall. There were present at the marriage, lord Fortescue, Mr. Campbell's brother in law; lady Fortescue, Mr. Campbell's sister; Francis Bassett, Esq; Miss Bassett's brother; and Peregrine Courtney, Esq; her uncle. The issue by this marriage were five children, one son and four daughters; they were all born before Mrs. Campbell went to reside at Bath in 1773, and were all living at the time of this trial. When this action was brought, the parties had been married between fifteen and sixteen years. Mrs. Campbell was a remarkably genteel woman, and to all appearance, very modest and decent in her conversation and deportment. In this respect, however,  
she



she was a deception. Mr. Campbell was a very indulgent and most excellent husband, and before Mrs. Campbell went to Bath, every body who knew them, thought them a most happy couple. Mr. Campbell was very much attached to a country life, and his great improvements, buildings, and the other business of his estates kept him much in Pembrokeshire, and prevented his living constantly at Bath, with Mrs. Campbell. The circumstances of this case shew, that it is always dangerous to leave the ladies to themselves in gay places of much public resort ; for sometimes even matrons will stumble.

Mr. Campbell and his lady, from their marriage in 1762 till towards the close of the year 1773, resided at Mr. Campbell's seat, at Bangeiton in Pembrokeshire. About the end of the year 1773 they went to Bath ; Mrs. Campbell for the benefit of the waters, and the education of her three eldest daughters, whom she took with her. Mr. Campbell, after staying a few weeks at Bath, set off with his son for Richmond in Surry, where he settled him at school. At Bath, Mrs. Campbell first lodged at Mrs. Hibberts in Gay street, for a few weeks, till a house Mr. Campbell had taken in the Crescent was fitted up. In the Crescent Mrs. Campbell resided about a year and a half ; she then removed to Bathford, about three miles from Bath, where she likewise resided about a year and a half, or rather longer ; then, in autumn 1776, she returned to her old lodgings at Mrs. Hibberts in Gay street, where she remained only a few weeks, it was here her criminal intercourse with Mr. Wade was first suspected ; after this she took a house in Brook street, where she resided some months ; from this house, in April 1777, she went to Richmond, and took a house in Ormond row, near the school where her son was settled, having in all, lived in or near Bath, three years and a half ; and lastly, in June 1777, she removed from Richmond to Southampton street ; about this time she discharged all her servants but two, either for being concerned in her detection, or suspecting them



them of being concerned. Having stated her different places of residence, we shall now relate in what manner she behaved in them. During her residence at Bath for the first three years, Mr. Campbell generally came twice a year, and continued with her a month or two at a time; but he never came near her after her removal from Bathford, which was a little before Christmas 1776. Her intrigue with Mr. Wade commenced immediately on that removal.

When Mrs. Campbell lived in the Crescent, her husband in one of his journeys from Wales to Bath, brought with him his youngest daughter, and staying with his wife about seven weeks, left the youngest daughter also there. The last time he came to Mrs. Campbell was at Bathford; but he did not find her at his house there, she was gone to drink the waters at Cheltenham in Gloucestershire; he followed her to that place, and they returned together to Bathford, where he staid some weeks. At that time, they appeared to live very happily together; Mr. Campbell appeared exceedingly fond of Mrs. Campbell; but she did not appear under much concern when he set out again for Wales.

About a Week before Mrs. Campbell left Mrs. Hibberts, Mr. Wade paid her his first visit according to the evidences; he came there twice in the morning, and staid half an hour or an hour, like any other visitor. But after her removal to Brook street, his visits became very frequent indeed; coming four or five evenings in the week, after the public rooms were over; and staying with her often till midnight; they sometimes supped alone together; or when Mrs. Campbell had supped, she often kept the cloth and supper things ready against Mr. Wade's coming. She generally sat in her dining room, which had a door that communicated with her bedchamber. Mr. Wade also came often in the day time, and staid with her alone. In his evening visits, he staid at times till two o'clock in the morning, and even later.



Jane Gwyther, house maid to Mrs. Campbell, aged eighteen, deposed, that after they had been in Brook street two or three weeks, when she was taking off the fire in the dining room, between one and two in the morning, Mr. Wade having only gone away a little before, after having been alone with Mrs. Campbell all the former part of the night, she heard Mrs. Campbell, and her own maid Bagshaw, who was undressing her in her own bedchamber, laughing together, on which she listened, and distinctly heard Mrs. Campbell say, "*Mr. Wade wishes to enjoy such a lady as I am, and he shall not wish it long ;*" and then both she and her maid laughed.

Five days after this speech, as she was carrying some coals up the stairs, about twelve at night, she heard a noise in Mrs. Campbell's bedchamber, on which she listened at the door, and heard a bustling noise, as if people were on the bed, and heard Mr. Wade say, "*my dear Mrs. Campbell.*" After listening five minutes she went away, and on turning round saw Mrs. Campbell open the dining room door, and shut it again. This evidence before she heard the bustling on the bed, had heard at different times kissing as she passed the dining room; and she believed when she heard Mr. Wade's voice, that he and Mrs. Campbell then had the carnal use and knowledge of each other's bodies, and committed adultery together. A week after this Mr. Wade and Mrs. Campbell came home from the rooms in the coach, and supped alone together; and about one o'clock, as this evidence was coming down stairs, she again heard a bustling or noise on her mistress's bed, and a whispering, and heard something fall off the bed, and she believed that Mrs. Campbell and Mr. Wade were then having carnal knowledge of each other's bodies, and committing the crime of adultery together.

Maria Shyrme, aged twenty, Mrs. Campbell's second maid, (Jane Bagshaw being her first maid) deposed, that after Mrs. Campbell went to Brook street, and when Mr. Wade was alone with her in the evening,



ing, she often heard kissing in the dining room. At last she wrote down what she had heard on the 8th of January 1777. That evening between six and seven o'clock, as she was coming down stairs, she heard a bustling in the dining room, on which she set down some china she had in her hand and listened; she then heard kissing, and a bustling, or noise, as if Mrs. Campbell and Mr. Wade were lying on the carpet together, and also heard a great panting for breath, which she knew to be her mistress by her voice; the noise she heard was a very unbecoming kind of noise, such as when a man and woman are intimately connected together; that she believed Mr. Wade and Mrs. Campbell were at that time lying on the carpet, and committing adultery together. She listened about ten minutes till all the noise and bustling was over, after which she heard Mrs. Campbell and Mr. Wade talking together. The very next evening, hearing Mr. Wade come in his chair, a short time after he had gone into the dining room, she listened again at the door, and heard the same sort of bustling or noise, and the same panting for breath that she had heard the evening before; and she also believed that at this time Mr. Wade and Mrs. Campbell were intimately and criminally connected together. A day or two after she had heard these bustlings and pantings, she informed Mrs. Bagshaw of them, who wondered that this evidence had such a bad heart, as to suspect such things of Mrs. Campbell; and said, there was nothing in it, for she herself would not stay in the house, if she thought Mrs. Campbell and Mr. Wade had a criminal connection with each other. However, after this conversation, when Mr. Wade came, this evidence was always kept up in the nursery with the young ladies, and Mrs. Bagshaw came and staid with her there, and would not let her stir to go down stairs. Mrs. Campbell also avoided seeing her, and did not speak to her for a month. But on the 25th of February, when Mrs. Bagshaw had gone to the theatre, and Mr. Wade was in the house,



she went and listened at the dining room door, about ten o'clock at night; Mr. Wade had come about nine; she then heard the same bustling and noise, and panting and kissing, as she had heard formerly, and could distinctly hear their voices. On the 11th of March she took another opportunity to listen, when Mrs. Bagshaw was below stairs; it was then after supper, and she then heard the bustling on the carpet, and the panting for breath and kissing as before, and she believed that they were at that time lying together on the carpet, and having the carnal use and knowledge of each other, and committing adultery.

In April 1777, Mrs. Campbell went to reside at Richmond. At first the young ladies slept in a room opposite to her own, but about a week before Mr. Wade's first visit to her at Richmond, she directed Gwyther to move them up to the garret, as she expected a young lady to see her, and who was to lie in that room. This young lady, however, turned out to be Mr. Wade. On the 31st of May in the afternoon, Mrs. Campbell went in her carriage to Ham common, to a concert at the house of the Hanoverian minister, the baron de Alvensleben. She ordered Harris, her footman, to stay at her own house, and if any person called for her, to send her notice, and she would return instantly, but afterwards, Jenkins, the coachman, telling him in a joke, that he must attend his mistress behind the carriage, he did not remain at home, but went to Ham common. Soon after Mrs. Campbell was gone, Mr. Wade came to her house, it was then about four o'clock; Mrs. Campbell did not come back till nine at night, and when Harris carried up supper, Mr. Wade and she seemed very happy together, and pleased with each other's company; but she was displeased with him for not remaining behind, to inform who called, and with the coachman for his joke. About one o'clock Mr. Wade went into the bedchamber, which was opposite to Mrs. Campbell's, and Harris by Mrs. Campbell's orders, went into the room, and enquired if he want-



ed any thing ? Mr. Wade desired him to come in ten minutes, and take away his candle. When Harris took away the candle, Mr. Wade was in bed. Gwyther and Elizabeth Griffiths, the cook, were ordered to sleep somewhere in the neighbourhood, but they did not go ; the cook went to bed with two other of the women servants, and Jane Gwyther watched upon the stairs above Mrs. Campbell's bedchamber. A little after one o'clock at night, Mrs. Campbell came up stairs, but did not perceive Gwyther, she then went down again, and into her own bedchamber, where she remained half an hour, after which she opened her door and looked out to see and listen if every body was quiet, then she returned into her room, and instantly Mr. Wade came out of his bedchamber and went into Mrs. Campbell's ; from Mrs. Campbell's door being open, Gwyther saw Mr. Wade as he crossed the passage, he had nothing on but his shirt and night-cap ; Mrs. Campbell's door was then shut, and Gwyther went away to the maid servants room. But Harris, who was also upon the watch below stairs, as Gwyther was above, staid till the night scene was concluded. About half an hour after he had taken away Mr. Wade's candle he went up stairs, pretty near Mrs. Campbell's door, but hearing somebody coming down the garret stairs, he slipped back a little, and saw Mrs. Campbell in a cloak and bed gown, with a candle in her hand, go into her own chamber, Mr. Wade's room was directly opposite. In a minute or two his mistress's door opened, and he heard her say in a low tone, "*you may come now.*" Mr. Wade on this came out of his chamber, shutting the door as he came out, and went into Mrs. Campbell's, and her door was instantly shut. Harris that moment went and put his ear to his mistress's door, and heard her and Mr. Wade go into bed, one after the other, the bed cracked as they got into it ; then he heard his mistress and Mr. Wade laugh and whisper as if in bed ; after they had been in bed five or six minutes, he heard kissing, and then the bed cracking, and Mrs.



Campbell say, "*My dear, dear, dear Mr. Wade, what happiness do I enjoy!*" After this exclamation he heard more kissing. He plainly heard his mistress repeat the word, dear, three times. Harris continued listening till near four o'clock in the morning, and then heard the bed making a noise and cracking a second time; he then heard somebody getting up, and in less than a minute after, Mr. Wade came out of his mistress's room, and went into his own. Mr. Wade, in opening his door, made a noise, on which Mrs. Campbell said, "*don't make such a noise.*" From all these circumstances, Harris believed that his mistress and Mr. Wade had that night the carnal use and knowledge of each other's bodies, and committed the crime of adultery together. Mrs. Campbell was up in the morning before Mr. Wade, and desired Harris to go and see if he wanted any thing. He went, Mr. Wade was in bed, but did not want any thing.

About eleven o'clock that forenoon, Jane Gwyther made her mistress's bed, which was more tumbled than common, and there were stains or marks on the sheets as if a man and woman had lain in them that night, and had had carnal connection with each other; she therefore believed Mrs. Campbell and Mr. Wade had lain together the preceding night, being Saturday night, and had committed adultery together. Next day, Sunday, Mr. Wade went away in the forenoon, after having breakfasted alone with Mrs. Campbell.

Jenkins the coachman deposed to the circumstances related by Harris on the night of the 31st of May, Harris having come to him when his listening was over, and told him what he had heard, which Jenkins entered in his pocket book, particularly Mrs. Campbell's expressions of "*my dear Mr. Wade*" when she was telling him the great pleasure she then enjoyed.

On the 6th of June about dusk in the evening Mr. Wade came a second time to Mrs. Campbell's at Rich-



Richmond, in a chaise and four, and remained with Mrs. Campbell in the parlour about two hours and a half, and an hour of that time in the dark without candles. Harris listened at the door and heard a rustling of cloaths, as if Mrs. Campbell and Mr. Wade were lying together on the carpet; he also heard a noise, like panting for breath, and whispering, and a similar noise, except the cracking of the bed, to that he had heard when Mr. Wade was in Mrs. Campbell's bedchamber, from which he believed they were then having the carnal use and knowledge of each other's bodies and committing adultery together. When the noise ceased, the parlour bell rang, and Mrs. Campbell came to the door, on which he pretended to be coming up stairs, Mrs. Campbell ordered him to bring candles, some wine and water and cake.

The parlour they were in was over the servants hall, and Jenkins the coachman and some other of the servants heard a noise in the parlour, similar to the moving the leg of a chair, or a person's foot up and down on the carpet. As soon as the candles were carried in, Jenkins went into the garden to look if the window shutters of the parlour were shut to; but finding them not shut, he clambered up to the top of the garden wall, and then he saw Mrs. Campbell and Mr. Wade in the parlour very distinctly, sitting close to each other, drinking wine; here he staid near half an hour looking at them, and saw them kiss each other several times, and Mrs. Campbell clasp Mr. Wade in her arms, and Mr. Wade do the same to her; and also saw Mrs. Campbell's head reclined on Mr. Wade's shoulder. Soon after Mr. Wade went away, and then Jenkins came down from the garden wall, and saw Mr. Wade's chaise driving from the house. From these circumstances he believed, that when he and the other servants heard the noise in the parlour, that then Mrs. Campbell and Mr. Wade were having carnal knowledge of each other and committing the crime of adultery.

Harris



Harris deposed also to two letters that Mrs. Campbell gave him, one addressed to Mr. Johnson, taylor, in Beaufort square, Bath, the other to Mrs. Bagshaw at Mrs. Crooms, New King street, Bath; that suspecting they were intended for Mr. Wade, he opened them, the first was only a cover inclosing a letter directed "*William Wade Esq.*" This letter he locked up in his box. He also opened the one to Mrs. Bagshaw, who was a married woman and then lying in at Bath, and also put it into his box; and some days after gave them both to Mr. MacAndrew of the Custom-house, a gentleman who transacted business for Mr. Campbell; but he did not deliver to him the cover with the direction on it to Johnson the taylor, not thinking it of any consequence. A day or two after he had given away the letters, Mrs. Campbell said to him, that some of the letters she had entrusted him with had miscarried; and in a day or two he was sent to London with master Campbell; and on his return, his brother who was also a servant to Mrs. Campbell, told him his box had been searched, for the cover directed to Johnson was missing out of it. Next morning Mrs. Campbell charged him with having some of her letters, saying her name was not signed to them, that one was directed to Johnson the taylor, that she had proof in her pocket against him, meaning the cover, and that if he would give them back to her, she would forgive him. He answered in general that he had not the letters; but did not confess his giving them to Mr. MacAndrew. He then deposed to Mrs. Campbell's hand writing, and that several expressions in the letters "*you my W——e, dearest of men, and "charming man,"*" meant William Wade Esq. And being apprehensive that Mr. Wade was ill, to the paragraph in Bagshaw's letter "*if it should please God any thing should happen, do you go to the place and shew the seals, and desire the man to deliver you four letters directed to William —— under cover to himself.*" With the addition of "*mind not to do this, unless you hear from the old man that all is over.*" The mean-



meaning of these expressions were, that in case any thing fatal should have happened to Mr. Wade, or if her adulterous connection with him was detected, that her maid Mrs. Bagshaw should go to Johnson the tailor, and shew him two seal impressions in wax, that were inclosed in the letter to Bagshaw, and get back from him any of Mrs. Campbell's letter's then lying at his house addressed to Mr. Wade. Bagshaw was further directed that "*if the man scruples to deliver the letters, take the old man with you.*" Meaning if Johnson would not give them up, Bagshaw was to take with her Fontenelle, (an old Frenchman and also servant to Mr. Wade, and who had been recommended to Mr. Wade's service by Mrs. Campbell,) to Johnson, as he had been employed in carrying Mrs. Campbell's letters from Johnson to Mr. Wade.

Lord Fortescue also deposed to Mrs. Campbell's hand writing.

Mr. MacAndrew sent the intercepted letters to Mr. Campbell at Bangeston in Pembrokeshire, on which this suit was instituted, and a sentence of divorce and separation from bed, board, and mutual cohabitation obtained.

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TRIAL OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

ANNE BARONESS PERCY,  
Wife of the Right Hon. HUGH, BARON PERCY,

For ADULTERY with

WILLIAM BIRD, Esquire.

*The Libel was given in to the Consistory Court of the Lord Bishop of London, at Doctors Commons, the 27th of May, 1778.*

THE libel states, according to the common form of all such libels, that her ladyship was a woman of a very loose, and lustful disposition; and then  
more



more particularly states, that she and Mr. Bird sat up together till two, three, four, and five o'clock in the morning, during which times they frequently had the carnal use and knowledge of each other's bodies; that many indecent familiarities were heard and seen to pass between them; that Mr. Bird kissed lady Percy with great ardour; that they lay together in one and the same bed; that lady Augusta Corbet her sister and Drew Corbet, Esq; her husband, though under great obligations to lady Percy, remonstrated against her conduct in the strongest terms, represented to her how injurious it was to her own honour, and endeavoured to prevail with her to break off her connection with Mr. Bird; but not succeeding, they would no longer live under the same roof with her, and therefore on the 15th of November 1777, they left her house.

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The honourable lady Ann Stewart, daughter of the right honourable John Earl of Bute, was, on the 2d of July 1764, at the age of seventeen, married to lord Percy, eldest son of Hugh, duke of Northumberland. At the time of this marriage lord Percy was nearly twenty two, having been born on the 14th of August 1742. The ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Armaugh, in the earl of Bute's house in South Audley street. There was no issue from this marriage. When this suit was commenced, the parties had been married near fourteen years; but for several years before they had not cohabited together.

In October 1776, when lord Percy was with the Army in America, where he served as lieutenant general, lady Percy and her sister lady Augusta Corbet, lived together in Portman street, Oxford road. The beginning of December, lady Percy went to a house she had taken in the county of Southampton, called Ash Park. It was built in the centre of a wood, in a very retired situation, about fourteen miles from Winchester, and twenty four from Southampton, had been a hunting seat of the late lord Craven's, and was a very old house.

The



The end of July 1777, lady Percy and lady Augusta went to Southampton, attended by several of their servants. At Southampton lady Percy lodged at the rooms kept by Mrs. Martin, and lady Augusta and her child lodged at Mrs. Thrings. In a few days lady Percy moved to Mrs. Cushion's in the High street, where she lived about five weeks, and here she first became acquainted with Mr. Bird. Mr. Bird was a young gentleman about twenty two, whose estate lay near Coventry; lady Percy was now rather turned of thirty. Mr. Bird's mother and sisters also visited lady Percy at Mrs. Cushion's. From these lodgings lady Percy moved to a house in Bugle street, next door to that in which Mr. Bird lodged with his mother and sisters. Here lady Augusta came and lived with lady Percy. When the two ladies were at the rooms, they usually came home about eleven at night; but lady Augusta sometimes returned before lady Percy and Mr. Bird, and also sometimes went to bed before they came home. Lady Percy and Mr. Bird used to sit up very late, till one, two, and three in the morning; and lady Augusta generally retired some hours before Mr. Bird went away. Lady Percy and Mr. Bird always sat in the drawing room up one pair of stairs, which drawing room joined to lady Percy's bedchamber. Morris, lady Percy's footman deposed to these circumstances; he always sat up till Mr. Bird went away. While lady Percy lived in Bugle street, she, Mr. Bird, lady Augusta and her husband, made excursions to the New Forest in Hampshire, and to the isle of Wight.

Lady Percy remained at Southampton about eleven weeks; Mr. Bird was there much the same length of time. The reverend Dr. Calder deposed, that during that period, there appeared to subsist between her ladyship and Mr. Bird, a very indiscreet degree of familiarity, insomuch that it was generally remarked; they were hardly ever seen separate, in several excursions round the country, as also at all public places. Ladies of character and fashion seemed to decline lady  
Percy's



Percy's company; and she kept company more with the gentlemen than with the ladies. Every person remarked that her ladyship and Mr. Bird were remarkably attentive to each other in public; and their connection was generally considered as a criminal one.

Reeks one of the servant maids deposed, that on the trip to the isle of Wight all the company were from home one night; then lady Augusta and Mr. Corbet came home; but lady Percy and Mr. Bird staid away a night longer, which was remarked among the servants as an odd circumstance.

In September 1777 Mrs. Fortune, housekeeper at Ash Park, received a letter from lady Percy, ordering the beds to be well aired, and a good dinner to be provided, as she should bring company from Southampton. Mrs. Fortune on the appointed day had all ready as directed, and about four in the afternoon her ladyship arrived in a phaeton, with a young gentleman seemingly about twenty one, who was called Mr. Bird; lady Augusta and captain Corbet came with them. At nine that night lady Percy asked her what beds she had made up; she replied, the white double bed next her ladyship's room for captain and lady Corbet, and a single bed for the gentleman. But her ladyship told her the white bed was to be Mr. Bird's, and ordered Fortune to make up a settee bed and a chair bed for captain and lady Corbet, in lady Corbet's dressing room. Next morning captain Corbet set out for Ireland by the way of London, and about three o'clock lady Percy, lady Augusta, and Mr. Bird set out on their return to Southampton. Reeks remembered that lady Augusta came to Bugle street earlier than lady Percy and Mr. Bird, who returned together in the phaeton.

About the middle of October lady Percy quitted Southampton altogether, and went to Ash Park, where she remained seven weeks. During that time Mr. Bird paid her ladyship about four visits. One of these visits he staid three weeks; the other were only visits of two or three days. During the three weeks he lay  
in



in the bedchamber next lady Percy's. He came about a week after lady Percy's return from Southampton, and William Froome the game keeper used to accompany him a shooting. Froome who lay in the room directly over lady Percy's, often heard at night, while Mr. Bird was at Ash Park, a sound as if a dog had been treading in the passage below, but he never looked to see what or who it was, for he said, *it was no business of his*. Lady Augusta appeared uneasy, and generally sat in her dressing room alone and at work.

On the 2d or 3d of November 1777, the reverend Mr. Calder, as he passed Ash Park on the road to Overton, a village about two miles from Ash Park, saw Mr. Bird hunting in a field near Ash Park. At that time it was generally believed at Southampton that Mr. Bird was at the university of Cambridge. Mr. Calder was at Overton a month, and frequently saw lady Percy walking, riding, or at Ash church, but he never saw Mr. Bird with her, though it was generally reported he was at her house for a fortnight about that time. The connection between her ladyship and Mr. Bird was considered as a criminal one at Ash Park, as well as at Southampton.

About the middle of November lady Augusta left Ash Park with her child, and Mr. Bird also left it the next day. Lady Augusta returned to her house in Portman street, where one day when Mr. Bird called on her, she looked very cool upon him, and when he was gone, ordered her woman Anne Prigge to inform the servants, that if ever he returned, to deny her being at home. Mr. Bird called once or twice after, but got no admittance. Dinah Prest fixed the above visit of Mr. Bird's to lady Percy, to have lasted from October 22d to November the 13th, just three weeks and a day.

The beginning of December lady Percy went to Bath, and in about three weeks Mr. Bird came to her lodgings at Mr. Pitman's in Bennet street; and once or twice when he was with her, she ordered Morris her footman to deny her to all other company. Mr.



Bird was only two or three days at Bath, and lodged at the Boar inn. The firſt evening he ſpent alone with lady Percy; he came about five o'clock, Morris let him in, and he went away about twelve at night. The next evening he came and went away nearly about the ſame hours. While Mr. Bird was at Bath, lady Percy never went out of doors; but when he left the town ſhe went to the rooms as uſual. Her ladyſhip returned to Aſh Park on the 2d of February. It was on a Monday, and on the Sunday following, about nine in the evening, came Mr. Bird. On the Monday morning when Recks her own maid, went to call her ladyſhip, ſhe found the chamber door a-jar, it had a drop bolt, and Recks remembered it had been ſhut to on the Sunday night. The ſame evening an expreſs arrived with an account of lady Auguſta Corbet's death. Mr. Bird ſtaid two or three days till the next Tueſday. When lady Percy came from Bath, ſhe ordered her bedchamber to be new papered, and whiſt it was doing, ſhe lay in the next bedchamber, which was called Mr. Bird's bedchamber. In a fortnight he came again, and ſtaid a day or two. On Wedneſday the 11th of March he came again, and remained till Friday the 13th.

March the 12th 1778, Sarah Recks between nine and ten in the morning went to call lady Percy, and to carry in her ladyſhip's ſhift; on going to the bedſide to lay it on the bed as was her uſual cuſtom, the curtains being open, ſhe ſaw Mr. Bird in bed with her ladyſhip; Mr. Bird had his ſhirt on, and ſhe was not certain but he had on his waſtcoat; her ladyſhip was naked all but her ſhift; Mr. Bird inſtantly jumped out and ſnatched ſomething off the bed, ſome part of his cloaths ſhe believed, and ran out of the room in great confuſion, acroſs the paſſage to the room where he ſhould have ſlept, which was the room in which the late lady Auguſta Corbet uſed to lie. Neither lady Percy nor Mr. Bird ſpoke to Recks. She then placed lady Percy's cloaths for her to dreſs, and left the room. That whole day ſhe did not ſee lady  
Percy



Percy till she went to bed ; Reeks thought her ladyship rather shunned seeing her. This evidence from what she saw believed, that Mr. Bird and her ladyship had lain together the preceding night, or at least on the Thursday morning, and that they had had carnal knowledge of each other's bodies, and committed adultery together.

During this visit of Mr. Bird's, Froome the game keeper and gardener, observed Sarah Reeks to be very uneasy ; he asked her the reason of it ? but she only said, that she never in her life saw such a sight as she saw that morning, and she did not imagine lady Percy would see her any more. Froome then believed she meant some transaction between lady Percy and Mr. Bird, but he was ashamed to enquire further into it.

On the 22d of March lady Percy set out for No. 19 Brumpton Row in Middlesex near London, here she staid four weeks. She was attended on the journey by Sarah Reeks and a Swiss servant.

Her ladyship's history at this house was deposed to by Mrs. Darke, of whom Mr. Bird hired the house, by Mary Knight a servant whom Reeks hired, and by Reeks herself.

About the end of February 1778, a young gentleman, a stranger, came to Mrs. Darke at her house No. 19 Brumpton Row, to take her apartments, for which she asked three guineas a week, but on his saying they were for a lady then in the country, Mrs. Darke informed him she would let her apartments to none but persons of character. On this the young gentleman laid his hand on his breast, and declared the lady was really a lady of quality. In ten days he returned and said he should take the whole house ; that the lady would bring her own plate and linen ; agreed to give three guineas and an half for the whole house ; and neither Mrs. Darke nor any of her servants were to remain in the house. He took it for four weeks certain. Mrs. Darke immediately left the house and went to live in Yeoman's row, a few hundred yards distant ; though afterwards she went back to live in



Brumpton row at No. 22, only three doors from the house she had let.

Mary Knight a girl of nineteen, was hired by Sarah Reeks about the end of March. Reeks did not think proper to let her know the lady's name for whom she was hired. When she had been some days in her new place, Mrs. Darke asked her who the lady was, but she could not tell then, though she found it out afterwards by going to pay a bill at Mrs. Higgins, a green grocer at Knightsbridge, who informed her that the lady she lived with was lady Percy. When she went home she acquainted Mrs. Reeks with this discovery, who held up her hands and wondered how it came to be known, but owned it was true, and desired her not to speak of it again. Reeks imagined her ladyship was discovered by her Swiss servant being known, as he had been in lady Percy's service many years. Knight was in this service near a month, but lady Percy was never once out of the house, though she did not seem in an ill state of health. She even never came lower than the dining room, which was on the one pair of stairs. There was no visitor but Mr. Bird, who slept in the house every night, except two or three nights. Mr. Bird constantly breakfasted, dined, and supped with lady Percy. After breakfast he generally went out, and came back to dinner about four o'clock. An apothecary came every day to attend her ladyship. James the man servant told her Mr. Bird lodged likewise at No. 5, Bury street St. James's. Lady Percy and Mr. Bird seemed to be very attentive to each other, and very happy in each other's company. He sent fish and other articles from town by a man that was called his chairman. Except at dinner, lady Percy and he generally sat in the drawing room next to the dining room. He never brought any company, and no person came to call for him. His bedchamber was over the dining room, and lady Percy's over the drawing room; but their two bedchambers had a door of communication. Every body went to rest between eleven and twelve at night.

Mrs.



Mrs. Reeks slept over Mr. Bird's room; Knight over lady Percy's; the Swifts lay in the parlour: lady Percy went to her bedchamber first, Mrs. Reeks was a few minutes with her undressing her: Reeks was in the country two nights, and then Knight waited on her ladyship: lady Percy wore a riding habit, except two days that she wore a black gown, being in mourning for her sister. After lady Percy retired Mr. Bird went to his chamber, and the servants went to theirs. Knight when about getting into bed, used to hear a door unlock, which she believed was the door of communication between lady Percy's and Mr. Bird's rooms; that Mr. Bird kept the key, for Reeks said she had once found it in lady Percy's bed, and she fancied it had dropped out of Mr. Bird's pocket. Reeks and she were of opinion that their lady and Mr. Bird lay together. She generally every night heard them conversing in lady Percy's bedchamber; and from their voices believed them to be in bed together. Mr. Bird's bed often seemed scarcely rumpled, but lady Percy's was often much disordered. As lady Percy lay on a matrafs, it was not easy from the marks to distinguish if two persons had lain on it. When making the bed she had observed to Reeks how much it was tumbled, at which Reeks used to laugh. She also saw stains on lady Percy's bed. From these circumstances she believed lady Percy and Mr. Bird lay together in the same bed, and committed the crime of adultery together. When lady Percy went away, she believed she went to Ash Park.

Reeks went from Brumpton row to Ash Park for her cloaths, on the 14th of April, and returned the 16th. On her coming to Ash Park, Froome asked her where lady Percy was, on which she laughed, and said, "*neither in London nor an hundred miles from it,*" but added, that lady Percy and Mr. Bird had always slept together like man and wife since they left Ash Park.

Reeks deposed to most of the circumstances mentioned by Knight, and to Mr. Keate apothecary attending lady Percy at Brumpton row; that when in Bed



ſhe had heard a door unlock on the floor below; that lady Percy's bed frequently appeared very much tumbled; that ſhe found a key in lady Percy's bed, and on trial it opened the door between her ladyſhip's room and Mr. Bird's; that as lady Percy lay on a matraſs, the marks of perſons lying on it was not viſible, as they would have been on a feather bed; and that on the 18th of April 1778, lady Percy returned to Aſh Park. At this time Mrs. Reeks left her ladyſhip's ſervice, as lady Percy intended to go abroad.

After her ladyſhip left Brompton row, Mr. Bird called on Mrs. Darke, and paid her fourteen guineas for the four weeks he had had her houſe. She gave him a receipt, in which his name was mentioned. Alſo, after lady Percy was gone, Mrs. Reeks confeſſed to her that the lady was lady Percy.

Sentence of divorce and ſeparation from bed, board, and mutual cohabitation, paſſed in the uſual form.

## T R I A L   O F

Amelia, Marchionefs of CARMARTHEN,

Wife of FRANCIS, Marquis of CARMARTHEN,

For ADULTERY with

J O H N   B Y R O N,   E S Q U I R E.

An Officer in the Second Regiment of Foot Guards.

*The Libel was delivered in to the Conſiſtory Court of the Biſhop of London at Doctſor's Commons, the 26th of January 1779.*

**L**ADY Amelia d'Arcy, daughter of the late right honourable Robert, earl of Holderneſſe, was born the 12th of October, 1754, and at the age of nineteen married the marquis of Carmarthen, ſon of his grace the duke of Leeds, the 29th of November, 1773. The marquis was born the 29th of January 1751;



1751, and at the time of this marriage was nearly three and twenty. When this suit was brought, there were three children alive, the issue of this marriage; the marchioness having been delivered of a son in July 1775, of a daughter in September 1776, and of another son in October 1777.

No evidence appeared that the marchioness and Mr. Byron had had any criminal connection, or even any intercourse whatever with each other before Wednesday, November 11th, 1778. However, from the familiarity of his first visit, it is not to be doubted, but they were acquainted before that day. At any rate their acquaintance together must have been of a very recent date; for the marquis knew nothing of Mr. Byron; and not one of the servants knew him even by sight before the 11th of November. The bold manner in which the parties carried on their criminal intrigue, rendered a concealment for any length of time, almost an impossibility; of course it came to the marquis's knowledge, as soon as he came to town, for he was in the country during the heat of the intercourse; and the marchioness being informed that the servants had been examined on the 13th of December, thought proper to elope with her lover.

We now come to the narrative, or history of the facts deposed to by the several witnesses on this trial.

In the first place his lordship was proved by those who had lived in the family from the very day of the marriage, to have been a very kind and affectionate husband.

On Wednesday, the 11th of November, the marquis and marchioness went to dine at lord Barrington's in Cavendish square; and at nine o'clock in the evening, the marchioness returned home alone in the carriage to Grosvenor square. When she alighted, she ordered the carriage back to wait for the marquis, saying, she should not want it till next day at twelve o'clock. Her ladyship then went up stairs, and sent for her woman, Mrs. Lador, to take off her full dress. When Lador had done, she was sent to tell Hodgkinson,



son, the porter, that if a gentleman came, he was to be admitted. In less than half an hour a gentleman enquired if her ladyship was at home; and, being informed she was, said he had a letter for her from Miss Harland, and that his name was Byron; Shadbolt, her ladyship's own footman, then shewed him to the blue room up one pair of stairs, where her ladyship was alone. In a quarter of an hour the bell was rung, Shadbolt went up, the marchioness ordered him to carry candles up stairs into her powdering room. Having done this, she and Mr. Byron came up, and she ordered tea. When tea was carried up, they were seated in chairs near the fire. Just after this the marquis arrived, and as he went to the parlour on the ground floor, ordered Shadbolt to tell the marchioness the carriage was at the door. His lordship then took a candle, and went up into the blue room, into which Mr. Byron had been first shewn, before her ladyship ordered tea in her powdering room. Shadbolt went to deliver his message to her ladyship, but found the door of the powdering room fastened; lady Carmarthen asked, who was there? being told, she asked, what he wanted? Shadbolt then informed her from the marquis, that the carriage was at the door; but her ladyship repeated what she had before said, that she did not want it till to-morrow at twelve o'clock. Shadbolt went back with this message to his lordship, who instantly went out, and returned again about eleven o'clock with the reverend Mr. Jackson, and they supped in the parlour on the ground floor, with lady Carmarthen. Mr. Byron had gone away before the marquis returned to supper.

On Thursday the 12th of November, between ten and eleven at night, his lordship came home, again bringing the reverend Mr. Jackson with him; they went into the library, a back room on the ground floor. Immediately lady Carmarthen, who was in the powdering room, came down stairs and went to them in the library, staid a few minutes, and  
 then



then returned up stairs again. Instantly, Mr. Byron came down stairs and went out of the house.

On Friday, the 13th of November, the marquis set out for Bath in the forenoon, the duke of Leeds, his father, being there very much indisposed. On this day, about four in the afternoon, Mr. Byron came, the porter let him in, and though he attended the door till past twelve at night, he did not see Mr. Byron come out. That evening Mr. Byron and the marchioness supped together in the parlour on the first floor, Shadbolt and Rose, the marchioness's first and second footmen, set the supper things, and took them away, leaving the desert. About two in the morning, the parlour bell rung, Shadbolt went in, her ladyship was then alone in the room, he had orders to carry candles up stairs, as she was going to bed. He took candles up stairs. When the marchioness was gone up, he and Rose removed the rest of the things out of the parlour into the pantry, after which they went into the servants hall, and from thence saw a light in his lordship's powdering room, the windows of which nearly fronted those of the servants hall. Shadbolt went to see what was the matter, and on going into the room saw Mr. Byron sitting in the window reading, and a candle by him. Shadbolt and Rose then determined not to go to bed, till they saw what became of Mr. Byron. It was now between two and three o'clock in the morning, they watched in the porter's hall, and in about half an hour they heard a man's feet treading softly up the back stairs, after that they heard a door shut. Shadbolt, who slept out of the house, then went away, and Rose went to bed.

On Saturday the 14th of November, at nine in the morning, Sarah Harrison, one of the house maids, being in the marchioness's powdering room, putting it in order, Rose came up stairs with the marchioness's riding habit, which he had been brushing, and was going as usual, to put it on the bannister fronting her bedchamber door, but Harrison desired him to bring it



it into the powdering room, which joined her ladyship's bedchamber. Rose put down the riding habit, and asked Harrison, if she was coming down to breakfast. Just as he spoke, they heard her ladyship's door open, and Harrison desired Rose to go away, thinking it was her lady, but instead of the marchioness, they saw Mr. Byron pop his head out of the bedchamber door, on which Harrison screamed out in a fright, "*O Lord, there's a man!*" Mr. Byron on seeing them, instantly drew back and shut the bedchamber door. Rose began to go down stairs, her ladyship's room door was opened again, and looking behind him, he saw Mr. Byron at the door, having that instant come out of the marchioness's bedchamber, and he followed Rose down stairs, whistling or humming a tune. When he came down, as the porter was not in the hall, Rose opened the door and let him out. Mr. Byron had on a darkish coloured green coat, and a cockade in his hat, and Harrison and Rose thought his age about three and twenty. After this sight, Harrison also came down stairs, breakfasted, and then went up again to her ladyship's powdering room, to attend her getting up. About ten o'clock her ladyship came out of her bedchamber, by the same door as Mr. Byron had come out at. About noon Harrison made her ladyship's bed, and remarked that it was much tumbled, and appeared as if a man and woman had lain in it; from all which circumstances she believed that the marchioness and Mr. Byron, had had the carnal use and knowledge of each other's bodies, and committed adultery together. The same day the porter let Mr. Byron in again; he came to dinner, but the porter did not see him go away in the evening. Rose also saw Mr. Byron in the house that afternoon, but did not know of his going away. In the evening, about ten o'clock, Jane White, second house maid, being in Mrs. Lady's room, which is on the same floor as the marchioness's room, her lady and some other persons were in her lady's bedchamber, presently they heard her ladyship go down



down stairs, and soon after they thought they heard some person getting into her ladyship's bed. In about a quarter of an hour they went into the marchioness's room, and Lador, thinking she saw a person in the bed, said, "*My lady are you ill, that you are gone to bed so soon?*" She received no answer, but she heard some snoring. Tottie said, as the curtains were not drawn close, she could see into the bed, and imagined she saw somebody in the bed, with a pillow over the face. Sarah Harrison also went into the room for a towel, and as she passed the bed, she saw something like a person in bed, with a pillow covering the head and face; then she went out of the bed-chamber, made the marchioness's toast and water, carried it up as usual, and as she was putting it on a night table by the bedside, she heard a snoring, on which she undrew the curtain a little, and looked into the bed with a candle in her hand, and in it she plainly saw a gentleman fast asleep. She looked at his face, he had a white handkerchief on his head, and she knew him to be Mr. Byron. After leaving the room, she met the marchioness coming up stairs, whom she followed into the powdering room and undressed, the marchioness desiring her to be quick. The marchioness then went into her bedchamber, telling Harrison she would put herself to bed, shut the door, and bolted it, which Harrison had never known her do before.

On Sunday forenoon, November 15th, Mrs. Lador heard the marchioness and Mr. Byron talking in the marchioness's bedchamber, and their voices seemed as if they were in bed. Mrs. Lador, Sarah Harrison, and Jane Tottie were on the watch all this morning and forenoon, to see Mr. Byron come out. When Harrison was listening, she heard the voice of a man in bed with her ladyship, and a great deal of laughing between them, they seemed very merry. She called her ladyship at half after ten in the forenoon, as she had been ordered; but the marchioness only answered, "*very well.*" It was two in the afternoon



ternoon before Mr. Byron issued from her ladyship's bedchamber; the three women were still on the watch; they had planted themselves on the garret landing place, from whence they had the full command of the door of her ladyship's bedchamber. Mr. Byron had on a scarlet coat, and a plain hat with a cockade in it; he went down stairs into the blue breakfasting room. The marchioness then rang, Mrs. Lador went in, and found her ladyship in bed, who desired Lador to hand her bed gown. Lador, at the same time gave the marchioness a letter which she had written, requesting to leave her ladyship's service, on account of what had passed between her ladyship and Mr. Byron. In about half an hour the marchioness came out into her powdering room, where Harrison dressed her in her brown riding habit. While the marchioness was in this room she intreated Lador not to leave her, promising that the like should never happen again, and begged of Lador not to mention it to any body. The marchioness also enquired if the rest of the servants knew it; and Lador replying they did, her ladyship appeared confused and uneasy, and talked of giving the servants money to be silent. Her ladyship then went down to breakfast with Mr. Byron in the blue breakfasting room. Shadbolt carried up the breakfast, when her ladyship said to him, "*William, Mr. Byron wants to speak to you in the next room.*" He went, and Mr. Byron said to him, "*William, what will be the end of this? do the servants know any thing of my being in the house?*" Shadbolt replied, "*Every servant in the house, by what they have seen or heard, know as much as I do.*" At this Mr. Byron looked confounded; and Shadbolt added, "*every servant in the house will be bound to curse the hour and day, that you first came into it.*" Mr. Byron then asked him, if he thought the marquis would be informed of it. Shadbolt answered, "*yes,*" and that he could not expect it would be otherwise. Mr. Byron then said, "*William, lady Carmarthen desired me to ask you, as a fa-*



"*your not to let it be known.*" Shadbolt replied, he was sorry his lady had put it in his power to hurt her, that he would not let it be known unless he was brought to his oath, or obliged to tell it. Shadbolt, after this went down to the porter's hall; the bell was rung again, he went up, and lady Carmarthen said to him, "*William, I beg of you not to mention Mr. Byron's being here.*" He replied, "*I will promise your ladyship, unless I am put to my oath, or forced to it.*" The marchioness then said, "*All I ask of you is, not to mention it, unless the marquis asks you any questions; if he does, tell him the truth; but he will never ask you.*"

While these conversations were passing, Sarah Harrison and Jane Tottie went into her ladyship's bed-chamber to make the bed, they found it according to Harrison's expression *well tumbled*, and they perceived stains or marks on the sheets, as if a man and woman had lain together, and had connection with each other in that bed that night. Between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, the marchioness sent for Harrison to come to her. Harrison found her walking in the blue breakfasting room. On her appearing, the marchioness said to her, "*Sally, I understand you know of this affair; if the marquis is told of it, I shall be an undone woman.*" The marchioness then enquired if any of the other servants suspected it. Harrison replied, "*almost all.*" The marchioness then cried very much, and said, "*Sally, will you go down, and tell them not to talk of what has happened, and I will take care it shall never happen again.*" The marchioness then entreated Harrison not to mention it. Harrison answered, "*I will not, unless I am asked; if I am, I shall speak the truth:*" adding, "*I am afraid, should it be known, that your ladyship will really be an undone woman.*" Harrison told the servants as she had been desired. Jane Tottie deposed to Harrison's delivering to her from the marchioness the message respecting silence.



The marchioness also sent for Jane Paschaud, the housekeeper, it was then about seven o'clock in the evening. Mrs. Paschaud found her alone and crying exceedingly. The marchioness said to her, "*Mrs. Paschaud, you know what has passed: I am very sorry for it: it will never happen again: I am quite distracted: I have nothing to say in my justification, but that it will never happen again.*" The marchioness could hardly speak, she cried so much, and was so greatly affected. Her ladyship added, "*All that I am afraid of is, that it should come to my mamma's knowledge.*" Paschaud was so much touched that she could only reply, "*I am very sorry to see your ladyship in such a situation;*" she then left the room.

That night at twelve o'clock, as Harrison was undressing her ladyship in the powdering room, she asked Harrison, if she had told the servants what she had desired her, and what answer they made? Harrison said, she had mentioned it to them, and they replied, they would not speak of it. At this time also, the marchioness appeared uneasy.

On Monday the 16th of November, Shadbolt told Rose, that the marchioness begged that none of the servants would speak of what had happened, and that she would never be guilty of the same again. Some days after, her ladyship said to Rose, "*William, has Shadbolt said any thing to you of Mr. Byron and me?*" Rose answered, "*Yes;*" and her ladyship only said, "*very well.*"

Towards the end of November, when the housekeeper, Paschaud, shewed the marchioness the board wages accounts, her ladyship said, she had promised the maids some money, and desired Paschaud to give them *four guineas*. Paschaud gave this money to Jane Tottie, second house maid; Sarah Hatton, still room maid; Lydia, one of the kitchen maids; and Mary, the plate maid.

The marquis returned from Bath about Thursday the 19th, staid some days at his house in Grosvenor square and then set out for Yorkshire.

The



The apparent contrition of the marchioness did not last many days, for no sooner had the marquis set sail for Yorkshire, than she re-commenced her intrigues with new warmth. That it might be supposed Mr. Byron had left the house after he had been seen in it with her, all the men servants were dispatched with letters to different places, and at the same time the porter was sent on errands. Shadbolt was sent with a letter to *Madame de Cordon* in *Lincoln's Inn fields*; Rose with another to *Miss Jeffreys* in *St. James's place*; and then the porter was sent out to buy some white ribbon; this was about ten at night; Mr. Byron was then with her ladyship in the blue room up one pair of stairs. The servants on their return saw nothing of Mr. Byron. But when her ladyship had gone up to bed the servants missed a candlestick, but they were not anxious to search for it, as they imagined Mr. Byron was in the house, and had got it. Scenes of this sort passed at different times, both when the marquis was at Bath and in Yorkshire. Hodgkinson, the porter, when the marquis was in Yorkshire, let Mr. Byron into the house at various times in the day, and also let him out at very late hours, at two, three, and even four in the morning. One night at one o'clock, Mr. Byron came and enquired for Shadbolt, but the porter telling him every body was in bed, and then shutting the door, Mr. Byron was obliged to go away.

Shadbolt, when Mr. Byron was with the marchioness, had often occasion to go up with messages to the blue room up one pair of stairs, where they generally sat; and he often found the door fastened; one night in particular, when a servant from *Madame de Cordon* brought a message, and waited for an answer, he found the door fast; in a quarter of an hour he went up again, and knocked, the marchioness enquired, "who was there?" He said he had a note from *Madame de Cordon*, and that the servant could not wait any longer; on which the marchioness said, "will you ring for me directly?" In a few minutes the bell



was rung, and when he went up, he saw the marchioness and Mr. Byron together. Often in the marchioness's absence, after the marchioness had gone to bed, he found Mr. Byron alone in the room in which they had supped; and Mr. Byron often said to him on such occasions, "*William, I think I shall stay here all night, I shall lie down upon the couch.*" After Shadbolt heard a man go up stairs; which could be no other person than Mr. Byron. One day her ladyship sent Shadbolt to Mr. Byron, in Pall Mall, telling him before he went, "Mr. Byron wanted to speak to him. When he went, Mr. Byron said to him, "*William, what I want with you is this, will you, this night or to-morrow night, let me into the house when the other servants are gone to bed?*" Just then there was a rapping at the street door, and Mr. Byron, who was in a hurry, asking hastily, "*Will you, or will you not.*" Shadbolt inadvertently said, "*I will.*" Shadbolt, however, on reflection, resolved to correct this mistake he had made. Therefore, as soon as he had an opportunity of speaking to the marchioness, he mentioned what had passed, and enquired if it was by her desire Mr. Byron had put such a question to him. Her ladyship answered, "*I do know something of it, it has been upon my mind ever since: I wish it had not been so.*" Shadbolt then said, "*I said to Mr. Byron I would let him in, but I now tell your ladyship I will not: had I had time to have thought of it, I should have told him the same.*" He likewise said, he could not think of doing such a thing; it could at last end in nothing less than a divorce; that he should be sorry the person her ladyship put the greatest trust in, should have it in his power to be her greatest foe. To all which, lady Carmarthen only said, "*I wish you could let Mr. Byron know you will not do it.*" Shadbolt did not go to tell Mr. Byron, as he had been told by Mr. Byron's servant that his master was going out of town; neither did he sit up to let him in.

Sarah



Sarah Harrifon, about a week after the 10<sup>th</sup> she had gone for Yorkshire, found her ladyship's chamber much tumbled as on a former night, when the marchioness and Mr. Byron had lain in it; she also found the candlestick which the marchioness had missed, on a night table on that side of the bed where the marquise used to lie. On Monday, December 7<sup>th</sup>, she again found the bed tumbled, and the candlestick as before. The next night, Tuesday the 8<sup>th</sup>, after putting her ladyship to bed, she watched on the garret stairs, and when the marchioness had been about half an hour in bed, by the light of the lamps on the stairs, she saw Mr. Byron come out of the blue breakfasting room, come up stairs, open the marchioness's bedchamber door, go into the marchioness's room, bolt the bolt after he was in, and after that she heard the bed curtains undrawn. This was about one o'clock in the morning. Mr. Byron was dressed in mourning, and had his hat on with a cockade in it; he had no candle, the lamps gave light sufficient. After this sight Harrifon went to bed, and next morning when she made the marchioness's bed, she found it very much tumbled; there were the marks of two persons having lain together in it; and she believed the marchioness and Mr. Byron had slept together the night before in the said bed, and had committed adultery together.

On Wednesday the 9<sup>th</sup> of December, she attended her ladyship to bed about one o'clock; after which she placed her ladyship's cloaths in the next room, to be ready in the morning, and then took her station on the garret stairs to watch; she thought she heard the blue room door open, on which she stopped a short time, and then came down again, when close to the marchioness's bedchamber door she met Mr. Byron, and as she passed him, she could not keep from looking in his face, and saying pretty loudly, "*My God!*" but he took no notice of it, but appeared to be *as perfectly easy, as if he had been master of the house*. After passing him, she stopped, looked back, and saw him go into



ly the marchioness's bedchamber, and heard the door in the room bolted. When they met neither had candles; the lamp on the stair case gave light enough. On the 10th, she and Jane Tottie made the marchioness's bed, they found it much tumbled, there was no appearance of two persons having lain in it the night before, and she believed the marchioness and Mr. Byron had lain in it together, and committed adultery in it. That night, after putting her ladyship to bed, she went into Mademoiselle Lador's room, who was then recovering of the jaundice, and whose illness had occasioned her to be so much about the marchioness. She told Lador she would meet Mr. Byron, for he had supped that night with the marchioness. Just then hearing the blue room door open, she left Lador's room, and met Mr. Byron at the marchioness's bedchamber door with a high candlestick in his hand; she passed him, looked back, saw him go into the marchioness's room, and then heard the door bolted. After this she went down into the blue room, where Shadbolt was removing the supper things, and told him what she had seen.

On Friday the 11th she found her ladyship's bed much tumbled, with the usual appearances of two persons having lain together in it. That night her ladyship did not sleep at home. She went out about eleven o'clock at night, and did not come home again till Saturday the 12th about two o'clock in the day. Mrs. Lador accompanied her ladyship, and said they were to sleep at the house of the marquiss de Cordon, the Sardinian ambassador's in Lincoln's Inn fields.

On Sunday the 13th of December, about noon, the marquiss came from the country to his house in Grosvenor square. The marchioness was not then at home having gone out to Hampstead to meet him. The marquiss was attended by two gentlemen, who examined all the servants; every thing came out; and his lordship was exceedingly affected. After the examinations, when his lordship was going out, Shadbolt asked him if he should inform the marchioness when she



the returned of the discovery having been made; and the lordship desired him to do so. In about an hour the marchioness came home, and Shadbolt on was informed that all the servants had been examined. She said, "then I cannot think of staying here." He ordered Shadbolt to get her a sedan chair, into which she went. Sending the chairmen to go to admiral Byron's in Bolton. The admiral was captain Byron's father, and then in the West Indies at the head of the fleet. Shadbolt, by the marchioness's desire attended the chair; there were only servants in admiral Byron's house; the marchioness went in, and sent Shadbolt to Mrs. Byron's, in Green street, Grosvenor square, for Mr. Byron, and he instantly came to her. Some days after the marchioness sent for her woman, Mrs. Lador, to come to the admiral's, and she went, after having had leave from the marquis. Mr. Byron lived there at the same time, and Lador has been in the room when the marchioness has been in bed, and Mr. Byron has come into the room, and once when he so came into her bedchamber, she sent Lador out.

Shadbolt proved that after the marchioness had eloped, she cohabited with Mr. Byron, he having seen them at Chislehurst in Kent and other places; and particularly, having the marquis's orders to trace them, he found them in a private house at Rotten Dean, four miles from Brighthelmstonc, where after some difficulty Mr. Byron's servant shewed him into the room where the marchioness and Mr. Byron were in bed together.

Sentence of divorce and separation from bed, board, and mutual cohabitation passed in the usual form.

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